EIGHT

SERMONS

DEDICATED TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

HIS GRACE

The Lord Duke of *Ormond*,

AND

To the moſt Honourable of Ladies,
the Dutcheſs of *Ormond* her Grace.

Moſt of them preached before his Grace, and
the Parliament, in *Dublin*.

By the Right Reverend Father in God,
Griffith, Lord Biſhop of *Oſſory*.

The Contents and particulars whereof are ſet down in the next Page.

LONDON,
Printed for the Author, *Anno Dom.* 1664.

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Rev. in Chriſto Pat.
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à Sac. Domeſtic.

Ex Æd. Sab.
Jul. 1. 1663.

THE DESCRIPTION AND THE PRACTICE Of the four most admirable BEASTS;

Explained in four

SERMONS,

Upon REVEL. 4. 8.

Whereof the first three were preached before the Right Honourable,

JAMES Duke of *ORMOND*,

And Lord Lieutenant of *IRELAND* his Grace,

And the two Houses of Parliament, and others, very Honourable Persons.

By the Right Reverend Father in God, *Gr.* Lord Bishop of *OSSORY*.

London, Printed by *Tho. Roycroft*, for *Philemon Stephens*, and are to be sold at the *Golden Lion* in St. *Pauls* Church-Yard. 1663.

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The particular Sermons, and Contents of the whole Book.

THe deſcription and the practice of the four moſt admirable Beaſts, *upon* Revel. 4. 8. *In four Sermons.*

The only Way to the Kingdom of Heaven, *upon* Matth. 6. 33. *In one Sermon.*

The Saving Serpent, *upon* John 3. *In one Sermon.*

The only Way to preſerve Life, *upon* Amos 5. 6. *In one Sermon.*

The ejection, or deſtruction, of Devils, *upon* Mat. 17. 21. *In one Sermon, but prevented to be finiſhed.*

Whereunto is added, The perſecution and oppreſſion of two right Reverend Biſhops of *Oſſory.*

TO

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE

Duke of *ORMOND*

His GRACE.

When the Parliament, out of their love to Chriſt, and reſpect to the Reverend Biſhops his Servants, humbly moved his Majeſty for ſome augmentation to be made to the means of divers of them; and had omitted the Biſhop of Oſſory *out of their Liſt, as a man that either*

either needed it not, or cared not for it, ſeeing he never moved any man, as ſome others did, to ſeek for any augmentation for him: Your Grace was the only Advocate to put his Majeſty in mind of the Biſhop of Oſſory, *and to add four hundred pounds* per annum *for his augmentation, to the perpetual Obligation of the preſent and ſucceeding Biſhops of that See, to your Grace, and to all your ſucceeding Family.*

But what your Grace hath then ſo graciouſly begun, I humbly beg your Grace would be pleaſed, as graciouſly now to finiſh and perfect that pious *work which you have ſo religiouſly begun; not ſo much in regard of my ſelf, who, (after I was caſt down to the duſt, and there lay wallowing a long while, and was at laſt, beyond my deſert, and any certainty of expectation, liſted up again to mine Office, and reſtored to mine Honour and Dignity) have vowed and reſolved to ſpend what God hath reſtored to me, for the Honour of God, and the ſervice of the Church of Chriſt, that is, beſides my neceſſities, to repair his Church, to relieve*

lieve the distressed, to punish perjurers and such high Malefactors, * and to do my best to hinder any man that fought against that most Excellent pious King, Charles the First, under the Standard of the Beast, to carry away, and injoy any part of the inheritance of the Church of Christ for his reward, for that transcendent wickedness.

* Which is equal to the relieving of the distressed

And therefore I spent already about four hundred pounds in repairing the ruinous Cathedral, and above three hundred pounds more in seeking the right of the Church out of the hands of Hucksters, and the Adversaries of King Charles the First: And I do profess, that having food and rayment, and to defray my necessary occasions, I weigh not one straw, either of mine augmentation, or of any other supportation that I have: † God is, El Shaddai, a God all-suficient for me, as he hath been hitherto.

† I dare take my oath, I am not, to this day, one penny the richer for my Bishoprick: When as the reparation of the Church and Bishops house, the Suits in Law to recover the revenues of the Bishoprick, and the printing of my Books, for the service of the Church, and the good of Gods people, hath consumed all that I received.

But I beg this of your Grace, in respect of the poor See of Ossory, and the succeeding Bishops, that perhaps shall not pass through so many storms as I have done, and therefore shall not be so well able

able to abide the weather, and to endure the wants that I did, but will be moſt willing to do God that good ſervice, which God and ſuch good men as the King and your Grace will inable them to do.

And I doubt not, but as your Grace hath alwayes been ſo ſweet a Friend, and ſo bountiful a Benefactor and Patron, both to my ſelf, and many more of the Servants of Chriſt; ſo your Grace, without any motion of mine, will do far better things, and things far better then I can preſcribe or imagine.

And therefore, craving pardon for my preſumption, I reſt,

Your Graces daily Orator,

Gr. Oſſory.

THE

TO THE

Moſt vertuous and the moſt honourable of Ladies,

THE LADY

ELIZABETH,

Dutches of

ORMOND

Her Grace.

Elect Lady,

Our dayly Orator, *that formerly hath written Books and Epiſtles to* mighty *Kings and moſt* honourable

nourable *Princes*, *doth now beg* leave *to dedicate theſe enſuing* Sermons *unto your* Graces *view. I know* many *Scholers expecting their preferment, will not be* wanting *to expreſs the* noble Acts, *unparaleld* Fidelity, *and moſt juſtly deſerved* Honours *and Praiſes of the thrice honourable your dear Huſband, the* Duke *of* Ormond's *Grace; but my age bids me expect my* diſſolution, *and not worldly promotion: and therefore onely challengeth that preſumption*

ſumption to dedicate theſe few Sermons unto your Graces view, not as ſome others uſe to do, to beg for any patronage or defence, for any thing that I have ſaid therein; (for what is good will juſtifie it ſelf, and what is amiſs, let it be juſtly blamed, I will never protect it) but to ſhew unto the world how highly I do honour your Grace, and would needs finde out, by what wayes I ſhould propagate and perpetuate your Graces Worth, Piety, and Vertue to

the

the indelible view and remembrance *of all your Off-ſpring, for their* glory *and the glory of all their Poſterities, for their* example *throughout all the remainder of theſe laſt Ages of the World: for I believe that I may truly ſay it, without errour, that neither* Gorgonia, *nor* Traſilla, *nor any other of thoſe* glorious Stars, *that in their times ſhined in the* Firmament *of the Church, and which are regiſtred to Poſterities for their* everlaſting praiſe *by Saint* Nazianzen,

Nazianzen, *Saint* Jerome, *and other Fathers of the Church were* comparably *ſo* bleſſed *in the* choiceſt *of the bleſsings of this life,* nor were they ſo* patient *in their afflictions, ſo* pious *in their converſation, ſo* humble *and ſo* meeke *in their demeanour towards the* worthieſt *of Gods Miniſters, as your Grace hath alwayes ſhewed your ſelf to be unto all even the meaneſt of* Gods ſervants, *and eſpecially to me, when in a* very mean *condition, I came to* wait

* *Id eſt*, in their Husbands and Children.

upon your Grace in Donmore, *before the King came into the Kingdome; and I muſt paſſe over your* wiſe, *diſcreet, and* moſt prudent *carriage of* great affairs, *and in ſuch* deſperate *times, to the benefit and preſervation of* many *good men and* faithful Subjects *to his Majeſty, in the midſt of a* froward, *ſubtle, and perverſe Generation, without which they had been utterly deſtroyed: And I paſs over theſe things and many other moſt eminent vertues*

and

and endowments of your Lady-ſhip; becauſe I am not ſufficiently able to characterize and delineate the ſame, ſo ſweetly *and ſo commendably as your Grace hath ſhewed, to the full meaſure of your deſervings: but though mine* ability *reacheth not to expreſs your* worth, *yet this my devotion ſhall never be wanting to ſhew my* deſires *with the beſt of my prayers, and all the* faculties *of my ſoul, to be your* Orator *unto God, and to make your name and*

memorial *in the World*, *like the remembrance of* Joſias, *fair as the* Lilly, *and ſweet as the* pretious oyntment *that is made by the art of the Apothecary: So I reſt,*

Moſt honourable Lady

Your Graces moſt faithful

Orator and Servant

while I am

Gr. Oſſory.

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

My dear Brother,

MY *onely* aim and desire hath *always* been, to promote the *glory* of God, the *honour* of my King, the *benefit* of the Church of *Christ*, and the *good* of all my Neighbours: To those *ends* I have *laboured*, I have *preached*, I have *printed* many books. And the *best* way, that I conceived to do *good* unto my Neighbours, was, to teach them to *observe*, and never to *depart* from the society and practice of *Justice*, *Obedience*, and *Charity*; Justice among *themselves*, and towards *all men*; Obedience to their *King*, and to all *their superiour Governours*; and Charity or mercy

mercy to the *poor* and *oppreſſed*. Theſe were the *main* marks I always *ſhot* at; and to *further* theſe exerciſes, I thought my ſelf *obliged* to do it with all my *might*, without either *fear* or *flattery*. And therefore let neither *Kings*, *Princes*, nor *Magiſtrates* frown at me, when I *reprove* them, if they be *unjuſt*; for the *great men* doe the more *uſually*, as being the more *able*, commit the acts of *injuſtice*: and let not the *rebellious Subjects*, nor the *ſeditious Sectaries* rail at me for painting out the *ugly ſhapes* and *loathſome viſages* of their *Treaſons* and *Wickedneſſes* againſt their *Kings* and *Governours*, whom God hath *ſet* over them, and *commanded* them to obey: neither let the *rich*, *covetous*, and *wretched worldlings*, whoſe hearts are as *hard* as ſtones from yielding any the *leaſt drop* of relief unto the poor and needy, and thoſe that are *ready* to ſtarve in the ſtreets, blame me, if for theſe *unmerciful* cruelties, and *cruel neglect* of mercies, I ſhall thunder out God's *judgements*, and pour forth the vials of God's *wrath*, that are prepared againſt them; for as *Nehemiah* ſaid, when his friends perſwaded him to *fly away* for

for fear of his enemies, that ſought to *deſtroy* him, *Is it fit that ſuch a man as I ſhould fly?* So *Neh.* 6. 11. I conceive, it is *not fit*, that ſuch a man as I, (that am a *Biſhop*, and an *aged man*, ready for my *diſſolution*, and no *other tranſlation*, but to be tranſlated unto *my fathers*) ſhould now *flatter* any perſon, or be *afraid* to ſpeak the *truth*, or to reprove *ſins*, worthy to be reproved, for fear of the *frowns*, *threats*, or *malice* of any man. And therefore, as the *Poet* ſaith,

Me, me, adſum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum.

And as I ſaid with *Pilat*, in the *firſt Sermon* that ever I printed, ὁ γέγραφα, γέγραφα, *what I have written, I have written, Nec poterit abolere vetuſtas.*

Jehovæ Liberatori.

The Deſcription and the Practice of the four moſt admirable Beaſts.

REVEL. 4. 8.

And the four Beaſts had each of them ſix wings about him, and they were full of eyes within, and they reſt not day and night, ſaying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.

I Have begun to treat of theſe words in this place *long ago*; and let no man marvel, that I intend by Gods help to *proſecute* the explication thereof at this time; becauſe *this Text* ſeems to me, like the *Ocean ſea*, ſo large, that it cannot be *meaſured*, and ſo deep, that it cannot be *fathomed* by any humane wit; the ſame being *omnia in omnibus*, all in all: For

Firſt, Here is *God* the *Creator* of all things, and all that is *knowable* or may be known concerning God; as that *in-*

effable myſtery of the *Trinity*, or three perſons in the *one onely* Eſſence of the Deity; and therefore *appointed* to be read for the Epiſtle on *Trinity* Sunday; and all the *chiefeſt Attributes* of God, as

1. His *Purity* and ſanctity in the words Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος three times repeated, to ſhew the *three perſons* of the Deity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.

2. His *Power*, authority and dominion, in the word Κύριος that is ſet down in the *ſingular* number, to ſhew the *Unity* of the God-head.

3. His *Wiſedome*, knowledge and providence, in the word ὁ Θεὸς, which is derived ἀπὸ τοῦ θεᾶσθαι τὰ πάντα, becauſe he *ſeeth* all things, and all things are *patent* to his eyes, *& attingit a fine uſque ad finem, & diſponit omnia ſuaviter.*

4. His *Omnipotency*, in the word ὁ παντοκράτωρ, Almighty, *quia voluntas ejus poteſtas ejus*, becauſe he can do *whatſoever* he would do, he needs but ſay the word and it is done.

5. His *Eternity*, in the words, ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ὤν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, which *croweth* all the reſt of Gods Attributes, that *otherwiſe* would be of no ſuch value, if it were not for this *Eternity*, that makes him to be whatſoever he is *for ever.*

Secondly, Here are the *creatures* of God, and the *chief* of all Gods creatures; as

1. The *Lion*, which is the *King* of all the Beaſts of the field.

2. The *Calf* or the Oxe, which is the moſt *painful* and moſt *uſeful* creature for the *ſervice* of man, and the moſt *acceptable* in the *ſacrifices* of God.

3. The *Eagle* which is the Lord and *Maſter* of all the *Fowles* of the Air; and,

4. *Man* which is the *Prince* and Ruler of all thoſe, and of all the *Beaſts* of the field, the *Fowles* of the air, the *Fiſhes* of the ſea, and whatſoever *walketh* through the pathes of the ſeas.

Thirdly, Here is *Religion*, and the *beſt* of all Religions, the *Chriſtian Religion*, moſt amply, though *enigmatically* and myſtically, ſet forth unto us; for,

1. Here

1. Here is both the *natures* and the *offices* of Chriſt, and the *chiefeſt* things that he did, and that we are to *underſtand* and *believe* for our ſalvation; they are all here expreſt unto us; as,

1. His *divine nature*, under the notion of the *Eagle* and her loſty flight.

2. His *humane nature* is noted unto us, by *him* that had the face and appearance of *a man*.

And as his *natures* and the *quality* of his perſon are here thus *myſtically* expreſt; ſo his *offices*, that he was to diſcharge, are here likewiſe in the *ſame manner*, of the *Egyptian* Hieroglyphicks, ſet forth unto us; as,

1. His *Regal* and Kingly office, whereby he was to *rule* and govern his Church, is here to be underſtood by the *Lion*, which is the *King* of all the Beaſts.

2. His *Prieſtly* office, whereby he was to *teach* and to inſtruct his people, and to offer *ſacrifice* unto God, to appeaſe his *wrath* and ſo to take away the *ſin* of the world, is here moſt aptly expreſt by the Oxe or Calfe, that was deemed the *moſt acceptable ſacrifice*, that could be offered unto God: as you may ſee by the ſacrifice of *Balaam*. Num. 23. 1.

And, as his *natures* and his *offices* are here *thus* to be underſtood; ſo the *chiefeſt* things that he was to do, and the *chiefeſt* points that we are to *believe*, are likewiſe here fairly expreſt under what is ſignified by theſe *four Beaſts*; as,

1. His *Incarnation*, by him that had the *face of a man*.
2. His *Paſſion*, by the *Oxe*, or Calf.
3. His *Reſurrection*, by the *Lion*.
4. His *Aſcenſion*, by the *flying Eagles*.

Fourthly and laſtly, not onely the foreſaid *particulars* concerning Chriſt and theſe *main* points of Chriſtian Religion are hereby to be obſerved, but alſo all the *whole duty* of man, and the *chiefeſt points* that every Chriſtian ought to *diſcharge*, if he looks for eternal happineſs, are here expreſt unto us, under the *qualities*, *conditions*, *deſcription*, and *practice* of theſe Beaſts, as hereafter I ſhall more *fully* declare unto you.

And ſo you ſee, here is *ſententia brevis*, a ſhort ſpeech, but *materia uberrima*, an Ocean of matter to ſail over. And do you think that I can paſſe through ſuch a *world* of moſt weighty points within the compaſſe of *one inch* of time, leſſe then one little houre? that cannot be, by a far better head then mine.

Therefore I muſt crave *leave* onely to go as far as I can, untill I ſhall have your *Grace* and this honourable audience *leave* to proceed at ſome other time unto the reſt of theſe points.

And for our more *orderly* proceeding at this time, I ſhall *humbly* deſire you to obſerve theſe three points:

1. The *number*
2. The *deſcription* } of *theſe Beaſts.*
3. The *practice*

1. *The number of the Beaſts four. Gen.* 31. 7.

1. For their *number*, it is ſaid they were *four Beaſts*. And you muſt remember, that ſometimes a *certain* number is put for an *uncertain*, as when *Jacob* ſaid unto *Laban*, *Thou haſt changed my wages ten times*; that is, *ſeveral* times. But here I take this number to be as it is ſet down, to ſignifie *four Beaſts*, and neither *more* nor *leſs*.

2. The deſcription of the Beaſts.

2. The *deſcription* of theſe Beaſts is two-fold;

1. Particular and proper to each one.
2. General and common to them all.

1. The proper and particular deſcription of the Beaſts.

1. Touching their *particular* deſcription: we are to conſider.

1. *Who* and what they are that are *thus* expreſt by *theſe Beaſts*.

2. *Why* each *one* of them is ſo expreſt, as they are here deſcribed unto us.

Aug. de civit. Dei l. 8. *c.* 3.

For the firſt, I may *truly* ſay with St. *Aug. Alii atque alii aliud atque aliud opinati ſunt*, ſeveral men have had their *ſeve-*

ral

ral interpretations of them; and I finde *four* expoſitions of them to be moſt of all reſpected,

1. Of the *Papiſts.*
2. Of the *Puritans.*
3. Of ſome *latter* Writers of the *Proteſtants.*
4. Of the *Ancient Fathers.*

1. The *Papiſts*, interpreting *this viſion* of the Militant Church, do underſtand the ſame by *Heaven*; and by the *ſeat* that was ſet therein, they underſtand the *authority* of the Church of *Rome*: by the *Lamb* or him that ſate on the ſeat, their *univerſal* Biſhop the Pope: and by *theſe four Beaſts*, they would have us to underſtand the 4. *Patriarchſhips*,

1. Of *Antioch.*
2. Of *Epheſus.*
3. Of *Jeruſalem.*
4. Of *Alexandria.*

Which have always had the *greateſt power* and cheifeſt authority next after the *Church of Rome.* And by the 24. *Elders*, that ſate upon the 24. ſeats, they underſtand the *ſix Arch-Biſhops* that were in *every* Patriarchſhip, as 1. in *Antioch.* The Arch-Biſhop, 1. of *Meſopotamia*, 2. of *Ninivee*, 3. of *Babylon*, 4. of *Aſſyria*, 5. of *Parthia*, 6. of *Media.*

2. In *Epheſus.* The Arch-Biſhop, 1. of *Smyrna*, 2. of *Pergamus*, 3. of *Thyatira*, 4. of *Philadelphia*, 5. of *Sardis*, 6. of *Laodicea.*

And ſo the reſt of *Jeruſalem* and of *Alexandria.* But *this expoſition* ſeemeth *furtheſt* from the truth.

1. Becauſe they interpret it of the *Prieſt-hood*, Church and Government thereof, altogether *externally.* Whereas indeed the *Kingdom* and Prieſt-hood of Chriſt is altogether *ſpiritual*, *Non quod hoc etiam temporaliter non poſſideat: ſed quod in cœlis habeat imperium*, as St. *Chryſoſt.* ſaith. *Chryſoſt. hom.* 82. *in c.* 18. *Johan.*

II. For

II. For that the Church of *Rome* was not as *then Empreſſe* and cheif Lady of all *other Churches*, nor afterwards, till the time of the Emperour *Phocas*, as it appeareth by the Epiſtles of *Gregory* Biſhop of *Rome* unto the Emperour *Mauritius*.

In Regiſt. ejuſdem Gregorii.

III. Becauſe that if this expoſition were *true*, the Arch-Biſhopricks of *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, *Britany*, *Germany*, and the like, ſhould be *excluded*, which were *too great* a wrong from this viſion; or they could not tell under *which* Patriarchſhip they ſhould be comprehended.

2. *Expoſition.* The ſecond *Expoſition* is of *Brightman* and his followers, that ſay, theſe *four Beaſts* do ſignifie the four-fold *ſtate*, quality, and condition of the *Miniſters* of the Church of Chriſt, from the time of our Saviours *Aſcenſion* to his coming to judgment. As,

1. Age. 1. In the *infancy* of the Church they were *bold* and *ſtout* like Lions to preach the Goſpel of Chriſt, ſo that although, as *Euſebius* ſaith, *Alii flammis exuſti, alii ferro peremti, alii patibulo cruciati, & alii flagris verberati*, Some were *burn'd* to aſhes, ſome *ſlain* with the ſword, Some *hanged*, and others *whipped* to death; yet they ceaſed not to publiſh the truth of *Jeſus Chriſt*, becauſe they knew, that as S. *Bern.* ſaith, *Vere tuta pro Chriſto & cum Chriſto pugna, in qua nec vulneratus, nec occiſus frandaberis à victoria*; To fight for Chriſt and with Chriſt is very *ſafe*, when neither *wounded* nor *killed*, we ſhould not be deprived of the victory.

Euſeb. l. 8. c. 11 & 12.

2. Age. 2. In the *next age* of the Church, after *Conſtant.* the Great, that cloſed up the *dayes* of Perſecution, the Miniſters of Chriſt were as *painfull* and *laborious* in their vocation of *Preaching* the Goſpel of God, as the *Oxen* are in *tilling* our ground or treading out the Corn for us. And ſo their *voluminous works* and pious devotions left behind them, do ſufficiently teſtifie what *pains* they took: ſo much, that it made the Emperour *Maximinus* to wonder, to ſee how *ſedulous* they were in doing *good*, and propagating the Goſpel of God.

3. In the *third age* of the Church, and this laſt *Century* of years, they are ſaid to have *faces like men*, becauſe that now ſince the time of *Wiclef*, *Luther*, *Melanction*, and the reſt of our Proteſtant Writers, the people, and divers of the *Prieſts* that formerly (by reaſon of the Latine Liturgy) underſtood *no more* what they *prayed*, or what was *ſaid* unto them, then *Balaams* Aſſe underſtood her own voice, were now made to become *like men*, ſo rational, that they underſtand both the *Sermons* and the *Service* of the Church. 3. Age.

4. In the *laſt age* of the Church, the *Miniſters* of the fifth *Monarchy* ſo much dreamed of by the *Phanatick* Sectaries of our time, are expounded by them to be *here underſtood* by this *flying Eagle*; becauſe that by reaſon of their *ſwift*, extemporary and *undigeſted* ſudden Meditations and Sermons; they will moſt *ſpeedily* pour out their words into all Lands, as *Lucilius* did his Verſes, *Horat. Serm. l.* 1. *p.* 212. And ſend forth their voices to the *ends of the World* for the converting of the *diſperſed Jewes*, and all other *Pagans* and worldlings to the faith of Chriſt, and to bring them back again out of *Scythia* into *Paleſtina*; which is *eaſier* ſaid then done, and is far enough from the *meaning* of the Holy Ghoſt in this place, as I have fully and amply ſhewed the vanity of this fiction in the ſixth Book of my true Church. Therefore to proceed, I find the *third expoſition* to be of ſome of the *beſt Proteſtant writers*, whereof notwithſtanding each ſeveral one hath his *ſeveral expoſition*: as ſome interpret them to ſignifie the *four Elements*, others, the *four ſpecial faculties* of the ſoul; others, as *Bullinger* interprets them, to ſignifie the *four great Monarchies* of the world; and others, as *Baconthorp* and *Albertus apud Balaum*, by theſe *foure Beaſts*, do underſtand the *foure great Prophets*, *Eſay*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and *Daniel*. 4. Age. 3. *Expoſition.* *Bullinger in Loc.*

But *Aretius* and *Maier* do with *Rupertus* interpret them to ſignifie the *four greateſt Myſteries* of our Chriſtian Religion. As,

I. The *Incarnation*. II. The *Paſſion*. III. The *Reſurrection*. And IV. The *Aſcenſion* of our Saviour Chriſt: and 1. Incarnation.

it

it cannot be contradicted but that *theſe things* are thereby ſignified. As,

I, His *Incarnation* which is the aſſuming of the *nature* of man unto the *perſon* of God, and that, as *Nazianzen* ſpeaketh, *Permanendo quod erat, & aſſumendo quod non erat*, by ſtill remaining *what he was*, and taking upon him *what he was not*, is here underſtood by him that had his *face like a man.*

2. The Paſſion. II, His *Paſſion* is ſignified by the *Calf*; becauſe all the *Sacrifices*, that were offered unto God, were

either { 1. *Zebach*, which they properly termed *Sacrifices*, or,
2. *Mincha*, which they called *Oblations.*

And the firſt ſort was of *living Creatures*, and the ſecond ſort was of *dead things*, as the *firſt fruits* of Corn, Wine, Oyl, and the like.

And the firſt ſort alſo, was either { 1. Of the *Heards*, or,
2. Of the *Flocks.*

And of the *Herds* were offered, { 1. *Oxen.*
2. *Cows.* } and of theſe,
3. *Calves.*

The *Calves* were moſt *uſually* offered, both among the *Jews* and *Gentiles*; for *Moſes* took *the blood of calves and ſprinkled both the book and the people*: and *Virgil* ſaith,

Heb. 9. 19.

Virgil. *Eclog.* 3.

Cum faciam vitula pro frugibus ipſe venito.

And therefore *Chriſt*, being to offer up himſelf a *ſweet-ſmelling Sacrifice* for our ſins, his *Death* and *Paſſion* could not be *better* ſignified by any thing, then by the *Calf.*

3. The Reſurrection. III, His *Reſurrection* is underſtood by the *Lion*; becauſe

cauſe that he, *Qui agnus extiterat in paſſione, factus eſt leo in reſurrectione.* For though by *Eſay*'s Propheſie, he ſhould be led as a *ſheep* to the *ſlaughter*; yet by *Jacob*'s Propheſie, he ſhould come from the *ſpoil* like a *Lions* whelp, and ſo declare himſelf *mightily* to be the ſon of God by his *reſurrection from the dead.* Bern. *De reſurrectione.* Rom. 1.4.

IV, His *Aſcenſion* is underſtood by the *flying Eagle*, which mounteth up *on high*; according as the Prophet ſaith of *Chriſt*, *Thou art gon up on high, thou haſt led Captivity captive, and received gifts for men.* IV, The Aſcenſion.

The *fourth Expoſition* is of the *ancient Fathers*, as *Irenæus*, *Venerable Bede*, St. *Hierome*, St. *Auguſtine*, St. *Gregory*, *Lyra*, and almoſt all of them did agree, that by theſe *four Beaſts* are underſtood the *four Evangeliſts*, St. *Matthew*, St. *Mark*, St. *Luke*, and St. *John*. 4. *Expoſition.* Iren. *l.* 3. *c.* 2. Beda *in hunc loc.*

But to reconcile all or moſt of theſe Interpreters, I ſay, that, The reconciling of the Interpreters.

1. *Primarily* we may and ought to underſtand the *four Evangeliſts* by theſe four Beaſts.

2. All the *Magiſtrates* of the Common-wealth, and all the *Miniſters* of the Church and *Preachers* of God's word.

3. And *laſtly*, All *Chriſtians* whatſoever they be, ought to be like unto theſe four Beaſts, both in their *deſcription* and in their *practice*.

Firſt then, I ſay, that by theſe *four Beaſts* we are to underſtand the *four Evangeliſts*.

1. Saint *Matthew* by the *Lion*, though Saint *Gregory* would have Saint *Mark* underſtood by it.
2. Saint *Luke* by the *Calf*.
3. Saint *Mark* by him that had the *face of a man*.
4. Saint *John* by the *flying Eagle*. For,

I finde *two ſpecial things* that may well *confirm* and make good *this Expoſition*; as firſt, the *manner* of their *deſcription*; and ſecondly, the *general practice* of the four. For if you mark it, they are deſcribed *two manner* of wayes.

1. *Generally.*
2. *Particularly.*

And firſt in their *general* and common deſcription, they are *all alike*; for they had all *ſix wings* about them, and they were all *full of eyes*. And ſecondly in their *Practiſe*, they all ſung the *ſame ſong*, ſaying, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, which is, and which is to come.*

But in their *particular* or proper deſcription, each one of them *differeth* from the other, as you ſee. The firſt was like a *lion*, the ſecond like a *calf*, &c.

So the *four Evangeliſts* in *general* aimed at the *ſame thing*, to ſet forth the *life* and *death* of the *Meſſiah*, and to bring us all to *believe*, that *Jeſus Chriſt* is the *Son of God*, the *Saviour* of the world; and that in *believing* on him, we ſhall have *eternal life*.

But if we look into their more *ſpecial end* and aim, we ſhall finde, that each one of them *differeth* very much from the others. For,

1. St. *Matthew* proves *Chriſt* to be a King.

1. St. *Matthew* ſeemeth *principally* to aim at the declaration of the Regal or Kingrick office of *Chriſt*, and to prove him to be that *Lion* of *Judah* which the *Jews* long expected for to come to be their King, to ſit upon the Throne of *David*, and to govern the *people* of God: and this he proveth by many Arguments. As,

1 *Argument* from his Pedegree. Ambroſius *in Luc.* 3.

1. *A Proſapia*, from his Progenitors; for he deriveth him *lineally* from King *David*, and he reckoneth fourteen Kings in his *Pedegree*: and after that, he brings him from *Zorobabel* in the bloud royal unto *Joſeph*. Whereupon Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, that St. *Matthew* deriving his generation by and from *Solomon*, and St. *Luke* by *Nathan*, they ſeem to ſhew, *Alteram regalem, alteram ſacerdotalem Chriſti familiam*, the one family to be from the *Kings*, and the other from the *Prieſts*; *Quia fuit verè & ſecundum carnem regalis & ſacerdotalis familiæ*, becauſe he was both of the *Royal* and

and of the *Prieſtly* family: *Et ſic Rex ex Regibus, & Sacerdos ex Sacerdotibus*, and ſo both a *King* and a *Prieſt*.

2. Saint *Matthew* proves him to be a King *ab adoratione Magorum*, from the doings of the *Wiſe-men*; for the *Star* of the *Meſſias* being propheſied of by *Balaam*, and left as a *Tradition* among the *Gentiles* by *Zoroaſtres* King of the *Bactrians*, (that was excellent in all learning) that it ſhould appear to ſhew the *birth* of this King of Kings; though *Virgil* flatteringly and falſly applyed it to *Auguſtus*, ſaying, 2 *Argument* from the doings of the *Magi*. *Numb.* 24.

Ecce Dionæi *praceſſit* Cæſaris *aſtrum.*

Yet theſe *Magi* being, as St. *Chryſoſtom* writeth, upon the Mountain *Victorialis*, worſhipping their God, a *Star* did appear unto them in the likeneſs of a *little childe*, and they rejoycing thereat, conceived that, as *Fulgentius* ſaith, *Puer natus, novam ſtellam fabricavit*, the long-expected childe being now *born*, did *create* this fore-propheſied ſtar, to teſtifie his *birth* unto the world; and therefore they did *forthwith* begin their journey to *Jeruſalem*. Fulgent. *fol.* 657. *in ſerm. de Epiphan.*

And how they came ſo *great* a journey in thirteen dayes after his nativity, *Rhemigius* anſwereth, *Puer, ad quem properaverunt, potuit eos in tam brevi ſpatio temporis ad ſe adducere*, The child, to whom they *haſtned*, was able to help them in ſo *ſhort* a ſpace to come unto him: and St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, that *Tres Magi iter unius anni in tredecim diebus peregerunt*, They performed in *thirteen days* the journey that might well require a *whole year* to finiſh it; eſpecially if you conſider, that theſe *Magi* were Kings themſelves, as St. *Cyprian* delivereth from the *tradition* of the Church, and St. *Chryſoſt.* diſſenteth not much from his opinion: when as the Prophet *David* ſaith to intimate the ſame thing, *The Kings of* Arabia *and* Saba *ſhall bring gifts* How the *Magi* came ſo ſpeedily to *Jeruſalem*. Cypr. *in ſerm. de Baptiſmo.* Chryſoſt. *hom. 6. in Matth. 2.* *Pſ* 72. 10.

And now, when theſe *Magi*, theſe three Kings, had found out *this King*, they fell down and *worſhipped him*; for though, as St. *Chryſoſt.* ſaith, *Viderunt puerum hominem*, They ſaw this

childe to be *a man*; yet *Agnoverunt redemptorem*, they acknowledged him to be their *Redeemer*. And though he was, *In gremio pauperis matris poſitus, & pannis vilibus involutus, & nullum regiæ dignitatis humanæ ſignum habens*, lying in the lap of his *poor* mother, and wrapped in *vile* clouts, and without any *ſign* of royal Majeſty; yet, as both *Chryſoſtom* and *Fulgentius* ſay, *Ex ſtella didicerunt eum eſſe regem*, They were taught by the *Star*, to underſtand that he was a *King*: and therefore they did homage to him as to the king of kings, and they offered to him *gold*, *myrrhe*, and *frankincenſe*, the *gold*, to ſhew his *regal* dignity, the *frankincenſe*, his *deity*, *quia thus ad honorem divinum concrematur*, and *myrrhe*, to ſhew his *mortality*, becauſe they uſe to put *myrrhe* to the bodies of the dead.

What the *Magi* did.

And ſo by this their action, they ſhewed,

1. Their *humility*, *quia prociderunt*, becauſe they fell down.

2. Their *Faith*, *quia adoraverunt*, becauſe they worſhipped him. And

3. Their *Charity*, *quia munera obtulerunt*, becauſe they offered theſe their *gifts* unto him.

Why the *Magi* do neglect *Herod* and adore Chriſt.

But how cometh this to paſs, *quod volunt adorare regem nuper natum, & infantem lactantem, & non adorant regem ante annos aliquot ordinatum & populos imperantem*? That they will worſhip the King *newly born*, and an infant ſucking on his mothers breaſts, and worſhip not the King that was ordained long before, and was *ruling* and *commanding* all the people? What is this, *quod ille natus in palatio contemnitur, & iſte natus in diverſorio quæritur*? that he which is born in the *palace*, and laid in a bed of ſilver is *neglected*, and he that is born in the *ſtable*, and laid in the manger is *enquired* after and *adored*?

It is anſwered, becauſe that this child which is but *parvus in præſepio eſt immenſus in cælo*, ſmal in the cratch is great and immeaſurable in heaven; and he whom theſe *Magi* call King of the *Jews*, is the Lord and Creator of the Angels. And ſo you ſee how Saint *Matthew* by the teſtimony of theſe *Magi*, and the worſhip that they doe unto him, doth prove him to be a King.

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The third Argument that he uſeth to prove him to be a King is drawn *ab Herodis timore*, from the fear of *Herod*; for when the *Magi* came near unto *Hieruſalem*, *abſcondita eſt ſtella*, ſaith Saint *Chryſoſtom*, *& quod ante apparuit, rurſus diſparuit*, and that which appeared before was vaniſhed again, ſaith Saint *Baſil*. And that for three ſpeciall reaſons. 3 Argument From the fear of *Herod*.

1. That the *Star* being hid, they ſhould be forced to *enquire* concerning Chriſt: that as they were *firſt moved* to ſeek him by a *celeſtial ſign*, ſo ſecondly, they ſhould be *confirmed* by the *prophetical* ſaying, and the anſwer of the *Hebrew* Doctors, ſaith Saint *Chryſoſtom*. *Chryſoſt. ſupra Matt.*

2. That the teſtimonies of Chriſts enemies might be, *longe præſtantiora ſideque digniora*, ſaith Saint *Baſil*, received without queſtion. *Baſil. Serm. de humana Chriſti generatione. fol.* 138.

3. That they, (that is, the *Magi* enquiring after him, that they might firſt *honour* him) the *Jews* ſhould be juſtly condemned, *qui illum cruci affixerunt, quem alieni adoraverunt.* Strange that his own Countrymen ſhould crucifie him, when theſe ſtrangers came to adore him. Therefore the *Star* was *obſcured*, and they enquired, *where is he that is born King of the Jews?*

Whereupon *Herod*, though it ſhould have moved him to caſt his *Crown* at his feet, yet was he vexed with *grief* at the heart, and troubled with horrible fear which the *Magi* brought to this King of the *Jews*, by their enquiring after *another late-born King of the Jews*. And therefore being *full of fear*, leaſt this *ſpiritual King* ſhould take away his *temporal* Kingdom, as he had formerly ſlain *Hyrcanus*, *Ariſtobulus* and his three Sons in his furious rage: ſo now, being more *incenſed* with ire, through this *Frantique fear*, he put to death his own wife *Mariamne*, his mother *Alexandra*, and fourty of his *chiefeſt* noble men of the tribe of *Juda*, and he ſlew all the *great Sanhedrim*, that is, the 72 Senators of the *Jews*, and fourteen thouſand infants in and about *Bethlehem* (as ſome do think) and among the reſt he ſlew his own infant born of a *Jewiſh* woman, as *Philo* writeth, which made *Auguſtus* ſay, That he had rather be his *pig* then his *ſon*; And all this he did in *Joſeph. l.* 15. *c.* 9. & 11. *Philo Judæus in l. de tempore*

in hope to root out and deſtroy all the *royal* bloud of *Juda*, leaſt this King and Lion of *Juda* ſhould deprive him of his Kingdom. And what infanable, incurable madneſs is this? and how vain is the thought? For this King, which is now born, doth not come, ſaith *Fulgentius*, *reges pugnando ſuperare, ſed moriendo mirabiliter ſubjugare*, not to overcome them by *fighting*, but wonderfully to ſubdue them by *dying*, and therefore he is not born, *ut tibi ſuccedat, ſed ut in eum mundus fideliter credat*, That he ſhould *ſucceed* thee, but that thou and all the World ſhould *believe* in him, and ſo be ſaved by him.

Innaniter ergo invidendo timuiſti ſucceſſorem, quem credendo debuiſti quærere Salvatorem. Fulgent. Serm. de Epiph. fol. 652.

And therefore it was but a *vain* thing for *Herod* to fear where *no fear was*, and to foſter *fear* where he ſhould have *faith*: but this fire of anger and this *fear* of heart, doth ſufficiently ſhew that *Herod* knew the *Meſſias* ſhould be a King, though he underſtood not what manner of King he ſhould be, and ſo Saint *Matthew* ſetteth down this his fear and cruelty for the third argument, to prove the *kingrick* office of Chriſt, and Chriſt to be a King.

4 Argument. From Chriſts riding to *Hieruſalem* upon the aſſe.

The fourth argument that Saint *Matthew* uſeth to prove Chriſt to be a King is, from his riding to *Hieruſalem* upon *an aſſe*; and he tells us plainly, that Chriſt did this, to ſhew that he was *the King of the Jews*; for he ſaith, that all this was done, that it might be *fulfilled* which was ſpoken by the Prophet, ſaying, *Tell yee the daughter of Sion, behold thy King cometh unto thee meek, and ſitting upon an aſſe*, and ask the *Jews*, ſaith Saint *Chryſoſtom*, *quisnam regum aſina vectus* Hieroſolymam *intravit*, which of all their Kings entred *Hieruſalem* upon an *aſſe*, and they ſhall never be able to name *any other* beſides Chriſt. For the other *Kings* rode in Chariots, to ſhew their *pompe*, and this King onely rode upon an *aſſe*, to ſhew his *humility*, and yet, *neque amittit divinitatem, nec regiam dignitatem, cum nos docet humilitatem*, by teaching us *humility*, he neither looſeth his *divinity*, nor abateth any thing of his *royal dignity*: when as *clemency* and *humility* in Majeſty do ſhine like a *precious diamond* well ſet in the *pureſt gold*. And Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, that when Chriſt rode to *Hieruſalem* upon

Matth. 21. 4, 5. Chryſoſt. hom. 67. in Matt.

Bedalib. 5. in Luc.

upon an *aſs*, the people that followed him, did three ſpeciall things. What the people did.

1. They repeated the Prophecie, to ſhew that they were not deceived.
2. They acknowledged his *Deity*, in ſaying, *Hoſanna*, *Salvum fac* : ſave Lord.
3. They called him their King, becauſe he was the *Son of David*.

And all was to ſhew, that this *meek* and humble *King* was the promiſed *Meſſias*, the *glory* of *Iſrael*, and the *expectation* of the *Gentiles*.

The fifth Argument that Saint *Matthew* uſeth to prove Chriſt to be a *King* is from the *marriage* of the kings ſon ; for venerable *Bede* demandeth who is the *Kings ſon*, but he, of whom the Prophet ſpeaketh, *homo eſt & quis cognoſcit eum ?* And the *marriage* of this ſon is the *union*, and *joyning* together of the *God-head* with our *humane* nature *in uno ſuppoſito*, in one perſon. The *ſervants* that he ſent to invite the gueſts, were the *Prophets* and *Preachers* of the Goſpel : thoſe that were *firſt invited* were the *Jews* : the three ſorts of refuſers are. 5 Argument. *Matth.* 22. 1, 2. From the marriage of the kings ſon. *Beda ſuper Luc. l.* 4. Who were the refuſers to come to the Wedding.

I. *Rich Worldlings* that ſay *villam emi*, and do love the things of this *World* better then the things of God.

II. *Senſual men*, that have 5 *yoke of Oxen*, and doe follow the luſts of their 5 *Senſes* : the luſts of the eyes and pride of life.

III. *Laſcivious wanton men*, that cry *uxorem duxi*, and are led away with carnal pleaſures

Or as Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, we may underſtand.

I. The *Gentiles*, by him that ſaid *villam emi*, I bought a farme.

II. The *Jews*, by him that ſaid, I bought 5 *yoke of Oxen*, becauſe they were under *the heavy yoke of the Law*, and the 5 books of *Moſes*, that were ſuch a *yoke* as that neither *they* nor their *fathers* could bear it; and therefore they cryed out

Pſal. 2. out, *dirumpamus vincula*, let us break theſe *bonds aſunder*, and caſt away theſe cords from us. And

III. The *Heretiques*, *Schiſmaticks*, and the like *Fanatique* Sectaries, that are wedded to their own obſtinate and fooliſh opinions, which like *Eva* tempteth them, and as another *Dalilah* deſtroyeth them, may be underſtood by him that had *married a wife*, and therefore neither *could* nor *would* obey the truth, and ſo come unto the *marriage* of this King, which is here ſhewed unto us by the Evangeliſt, but tell us flatly, they neither *can* nor *will* do it: their *wife* (which is their *obſtinate opinion*) will not ſuffer them.

6 Argument. The ſixth Argument that Saint *Matthew* produceth to prove Chriſt to be a King, is, from the *inſcription* of *Pilate*, *Beda in Luc* *Jeſus of Nazareth, King of the Jews.* Whereupon *Beda* ſaith, that becauſe he was both *King* and *Prieſt* together, when he offered up that *invaluable ſacrifice* of his fleſh upon the *Altar* of his croſs unto God his Father, he *fitly* challenged (and it was *rightly* given unto him) the *title* of his *royalty*, which did *belong* and was ſo due unto him, and that *title* was written in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latine*, which were and are the three moſt ſpecial languages of the World, that all the World might *read* it, and believe it, that Chriſt by his croſs *non perdiderat ſed potius confirmavit & corroboravit imperium*, hath not loſt, but rather *ſtrengthened* his right unto his kingdome: So that although God ſuffered them to take away his life, yet they could not take away his *kingdom* from him, but when he was *dead* upon the croſs, yet ſtill the *title remained*, that he was *Jeſus of Nazareth king of the Jews.* And it was written in *Hebrew* in reſpect of the *Jews*, that gloryed in their *Law*, and in *Greek*, in reſpect of the *Gentiles*, that boaſted of their wiſdom, and in *Latine* in reſpect of the *Romans*, which then ruled and domineered over moſt and almoſt *all the Nations* of the World; that the *Jews*, will they, nill they, may ſee, that *omne mundi regnum*, *omnis mundana ſapientia*, *& omnia divina legis ſacramenta teſtantur*, *quia* Jeſus *eſt Rex*, every kingdom of the earth, all the *wiſdom* of the World, and all the *ſacraments* of the divine law, do bear witneſs, that Chriſt is

King

King, and *this Lion* here ſpoken of in this Text. And the *difference* betwixt this Lion and all other Lions, is, that, as *Franciſcus Valleſius de ſacra Philoſophia, c.* 55. ſaith, *Mos Leonis eſt ſibi tantum pradam capere, & non Leænæ*: but Chriſt took the prey for his Church, and not for himſelf.

And we finde that his *kingdome* by three ſpecial *prerogatives* excelleth *all other kingdomes* of the world; that is, 1. Prehemi-nence of Chriſts king-dome three-fold.

1. *Eternity*;
2. *Purity*;
3. *Largity*;

1. The Prophet ſaith, *thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever, and thy Dominion ſhall endure throughout all Ages*: but *tranſibit gloria mundi*, all other Kings within *ſo many years* ſhall not govern, and after *ſo many dayes* they *ſhall* not be; for death ſpareth none, but *ſceptra ligonibus æquat*. And as *Nazianzen* ſaith, *Conſtantinus Imperator & famulus meus, oſſa Agamemnonis & Thyrſitis*, death makes no *difference* betwixt the bones of King *Agamemnon* and baſe *Thyrſites*, the Emperour *Conſtantine* and my ſervant; but when their race is run and their glaſs is out, we may ſay of each of them, as *Horace* ſaith of his Friend *Torquatus*. *Pſal.* 110.

Non Torquate *genus, non te facundia, non te*
Reſtituet pietas. —— *Horat.*

But this King hath a *prerogative* above them all, for he was, *Rex à ſeculo*, a King from *everlaſting*, and he ſhall be a King *in ſecula ſeculorum* world without end; for ſo the Angel *Gabriel* teſtifieth, that *of his kingdome there ſhall be no end*. *Luke* 1. 33.

And this ſhould batter down the *pride* of Tyrants, that ſay with *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Is not this great Babel that I have built?* For *mene, mene, tekel, peres*, their glory is but as the *graſs* of the field; or otherwiſe, if they were *immortal*, they were *intolerable*. And this ſhould teach us to labour, to become the *Subjects* of this *King*, in whoſe kingdome there

Aug. l. 1 c. 10. de Trinitate.

ſhall be, as Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, *requies ſempiterna, & gaudium quod nunquam auferetur à nobis*, An everlaſting reſt, and joy that ſhall never be taken from us.

2. Prehem.inence.

The ſecond *prehemineuce* of his kingdome is *purity*; for of this King the Prophet ſpeaketh, *thou haſt loved righteouſneſs and hated iniquity*, and *the ſcepter of thy kingdome is a ſcepter of righteouſneſs*. For this King is not like *Ahab*, that would take away *Naboths* Vineyard, nor like *Rehoboam*, that would *oppreſs* his Subjects with over-grievous Taxes, but he is a *righteous* King, and a moſt *juſt* Judge, far unlike ſome Judges of former dayes, that for a *word* have made a man a *tranſgreſſour*, and for a *ſyllable* or one letter, have quite *overthrown* a mans cauſe and right, and ſo have made the Laws *a noſe of wax*, to bend and turn as they pleaſed, and to be *rete Vulcanium*, like *Vulcans* iron net, to catch the *poor* and friendleſs: but *tela aranea*, like the ſpiders web, ſo *eaſie* for the rich and powerful to paſſe through it. But *bleſſed* be God for it, we have *few ſuch* now, and we hope we ſhall not *provoke* God ſo far, as to ſend *ſuch* amongſt us; for if you ſuffer *oppreſſion* and wrongs, when as the Poet ſaith,

Menſuraque juris vis erit.

Then ſurely, *peaceable* men ſhall not be able to *live* in the Common-wealth. But the *equity* and juſtice of this King ſhould perſwade *all other Kings* to follow his Example, and as the wiſe man ſaith, *to love righteouſneſs, all they that are Judges of the earth.*

Sap. 1. 1.

3. Prehemi-nence.

The third *prehemineuce* of his kingdome is, that God *anointed* this King with *the oyle of gladneſs* in all things *above his fellows*; for their time hath an *end*, their dominion a *limitation*, but his time is not *limited*, and his rule hath no *marches*: but *exivit in omnem terram*, it hath gone forth into *all Lands*, becauſe he is *the King of all the earth*: and when as all other Kings are but *Reges Gentium*, Kings of ſome *few* Nations, he is *Rex Regum, & Dominus Dominantium*, the King of all other Kings, and the Lord of all Lords.

And

And therefore *Euſebius* ſaith, that the diſtinction or *difference* betwixt this *true Chriſt* and the other *imaginary* Chriſts, that were *anointed Kings* before him, may truely and *very eaſily* be diſcerned; *quia illi priores Chriſti nulli penè niſi gen-* Euſeb. *l.* 1. *c.*
ti propriæ cogniti ſunt, thoſe former Kings were *ſcarce* known 1. *Eccl. Hiſtor.*
to any, but to their *own* proper people: but not onely the *name*, but alſo the *rule*, power and *kingdome* of this *true King* is extended over all Nations, *& per univerſum orbem terra*, and through the compaſſe of the round world.

And though, when the Jewes would have *crowned* him King, *Rex fieri nolust*, he refuſed the ſame; yet to ſhew that this *Dominus Angelorum*, was alſo *Rex Judæorum*, as *Beda* Beda *l.* 5. *in*
ſpeaketh, when he rid to *Jeruſalem* upon the Aſſe, he *wil-* *c.* 19 *Luc.*
lingly permitted the people to cry *Hoſanna*, and to intitle him *King of the Jewes*, and he confeſſed as much himſelf unto *Pilat*, that he was *a King*.

And what meaneth this, ſaith the *Venerable Bede*, that he now *willingly* embraceth, *quod prius fugiendo declinavit?* that which before he *declined*, and fled from it; and the *kingdome*, that while as yet he lived *in the world*, he would not accept, he now denieth not to take it, when he is by and by ready to go *out of the world*.

He anſwereth, that he formerly refuſed it, becauſe of the Beda *l.* 3. *in*
groſs imagination of the Jewes, that conceited him to be a *c.* 11. *S. Mar.*
temporal King like unto others; but he doth *now* accept it, to ſhew, *quod non temporalis & terreni, ſed æterni in cœlis Rex eſſet imperii*; that his *kingdome* was not of *this world*, as himſelf ſaid unto *Pilate*, but as the King of *Heaven* he ruled all the world.

Well then, ſeeing Saint *Matthew* doth by ſo *many* inan- What we may
ſwerable arguments prove Chriſt to be *a King*, and that he learn from
is a perpetual, *univerſal* and principal King, and here ex- this Doctrine,
preſt by the *Lion* in this Text, we may collect and draw that Chriſt is
matter both of *comfort* and *fear*, both of joy and of grief. our King.
For

1. Seeing Chriſt is *King*, then, as the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith, *ex-* *Pſal.* 97. 1.
ultet terra, let the earth rejoyce; for if we will *obey* him, and

be ruled by him, he will appoint over us ſuch *Viceroyes* and under-rulers, that will lead us, *ſicut oves*, gently and *lovingly*, like ſheep, as he did the *Iſraelites* by the hands of *Moſes* and *Aaron*. And

Pſal. 99. 1. 2. Seeing Chriſt is *King*, then as the ſame Prophet ſaith, *contremiſcat populus*, let the people tremble; for if they fall to be unruly, as we were of *late*, let them be never ſo *impatient*, this King can as *eaſily* gather unto himſelfe the ſpirit of his *under-Princes*, as we can ſlip a cluſter of Grapes from a Vine, and he can ſend them a *Rehoboam* without Wiſedome, or a *Jeroboam* without Religion, or *Aſhur* a Stranger, an *Uſurper*, as we have had, to be our *King*, or *nullum Regem*, no King at all, but a diſordered *Anarchy*, which is the *worſt* of all; and all this, *quia non timuerunt Jehovam*, becauſe they cared not for God, neither was God *in all their thoughts*.

Pſal. 10. 4.

But to end this *Point*, ſeeing Chriſt our King is this *Lion* here mentioned, we need not fear our *ſpiritual* enemies; for though he be a *Lion*, and a *roaring Lion*, that is againſt us; yet you ſee we have a *Lion* with us; and as Saint *John* ſaith, *he that is in us is greater then he that is in the world*, and is ſtronger then the *ſtrong man* armed, and able, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *to tread and bruiſe Satan under our feet*; and therefore we ought *to ſtand faſt* in the Lord without fear, becauſe as Saint *Chryſoſtome* well ſaith, *non debet timere hoſtem fortem, qui habet Regem fortiorem*, he need not fear the *ſtrongeſt enemy* that hath a *ſtronger King*: as our King is, bleſſed be God for it.

1 *John* 4.

Rom. 16. 20. *Vide* the abridgment of the Goſpel, *fol.* 26. & 27.

2. Saint *Luke* is underſtod by the Calf.

2. as Saint *Matthew* is here underſtood by the Lion, (*quia ſolet res qua ſignificat ejus rei nomine quam ſignificat nuncupari*, as the *bread*, that *ſignifieth* the body of Chriſt, is termed the *body of Chriſt*) becauſe he proveth Chriſt to be the *King* of the *Jews*, and that *Lion of Juda*, which was ſo long expected to come into the world: ſo, for the like reaſon, Saint *Luke* is here to be underſtood by the *Calf*, becauſe he *principally* aimed to prove Chriſt, that is *ſignified* by the *Calf*, to be that *Prieſt*, of whom the Lord ſware, *thou art a Prieſt for ever after the order of* Melchiſedeck.

For

For I told you before, that of all the *ſacrifices* of the four footed Beaſts of the Herds, which the *Hebrews* called *bakar*, that is, *majores hoſtias*, the greater ſacrifices, the *Calf* was moſt *acceptable* unto God, as the Prophet ſheweth, *when they offered yong bullocks, id eſt*, goodly Calfs *upon his altar*. And the reaſon is, becauſe the *Calf* is meeker and more *gentle* then either of the reſt; in regard of which *meekneſs*, the quiet and *peaceable man* is metaphorically called *a Calf*. *Pſal.* 51. 19. *Heb.* 9. 19. *Exod.* 24 8. *Eſay.* 11. 6, 7.

And therefore by the *Calf* is here ſignified the *Prieſtly office* of Chriſt, whereby he offered up himſelf as a meek and *immaculate Calf* unto God, that by the *blood of this Calf*, we might be ſprinkled and *purged* from all our ſins; becauſe that *without ſhedding of bloud there is no remiſſion*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh. *Heb.* 9 22.

And of all the *reſt* of the Evangeliſts, Saint *Luke* onely doth moſt *ſpecially* aime to prove Chriſt to be *a Prieſt*, and to ſhew his *Prieſtly office*; for both the *Alpha* and *Omega* of his Goſpel is concerning the *Temple* and the ſacrifices thereof, when as he *beginneth* the ſame with the *Prieſthood* of *Zacharias* and his ſacrifice of incenſe, and *endeth* the ſame with the *ſacrifice* of the Chriſtians that were continually in the *Temple* prayſing and bleſſing God. *Luc.* 24. 53.

For though that before the *birth* of this *Prieſt*, the *other Prieſts* were to burn *incenſe* in the Temple of the Lord, as *Zacharias* did; yet this *Prieſt* being now born, and *aſcended* up to heaven, the *ſacrifice* that the Chriſtians are to offer unto God, is to be continually *prayſing and lauding God* in the Temple, as Saint *Luke* ſaith the Apoſtles did. For the true *propitiatory ſacrifice* being exhibited, the *Types* and Figures thereof muſt now *ceaſe* and be aboliſhed, and in the *place* thereof, the *gratulatory ſacrifice* muſt be eſtabliſhed. And therefore Saint *Luke* beginneth his Goſpel with the *propitiatory ſacrifice* of *Zacharias*, becauſe Chriſt was not as yet incarnate: but he *endeth* the ſame with the *gratulatory ſacrifice* of the Apoſtles, becauſe that now *the word was made fleſh*, and Chriſt had aſcended into Heaven. *John* 1.

And

S. *Luke* proveth *Chriſt* to be a Prieſt by 3 ſpecial Arguments.

And leſt this ſhould not be ſufficient to demonſtrate *Chriſt* to be a *Prieſt*, he proceedeth to prove him to be *that Prieſt* which was after the order of *Melchiſedech*, by three other ſpecial Arguments.

1. *A Proſapia*, from his *Pedegree*.
2. From the true *qualities* and *properties* of a *Prieſt*.
3. From the performance of the *duties* and *office* of a *Prieſt*.

1 Argument from his Pedegree.

1. In that St. *Luke* deriveth his Genealogy by *Nathan*, S. *Ambroſe* ſaith, it was to ſhew his *Prieſtly* office; and Venerable *Bede* ſaith, that becauſe Saint *Matthew* intended to ſhew the *Regal office* of *Chriſt*, and St. *Luke* his *Prieſtly office*, therefore St. *Matthew* derives his perſon from King *Solomon*, and St. *Luke* from *Nathan*: and ſo, ſaith he, in the Chariot of the *Cherubims*, the *Lion* which is the *ſtrongeſt* of all Beaſts, deſigns his *Kingly office*; and the *Calf*, which was the *ſacrifice* of the Prieſt, denotates his *Prieſtly function*: and ſaith he, *Eandem uterque ſui operis intentionem in genealogia quoque ſalvatoris texenda obſervavit*, And both the *Evangeliſts* in like manner obſerved the *ſame intention* of their work in ſetting down the *genealogy* of our Saviour. And then immediatly he addeth two excellent Obſervations to confirm the ſame point. As,

Beda *l.* 1. *in c.* 3. *Luc.*

1 Obſervation. Beda *ibid.*

1. That in the *manner* of ſetting down his genealogie S. *Matthew* deſcended from *Abraham* to *Joſeph*, to note his *Kingly office*, and to ſhew that he partaked with us of our *mortality*: but S. *Luke* by aſcending from *Joſeph* unto *Adam*, and ſo to God, doth rather deſign his *Prieſtly office* in expiating our ſins, and ſo bringing us to *immortality*. And therefore, in the deſcending generations of S. *Matthew*, the taking upon Chriſt *our ſins* is ſignified; but in the aſcending genealogies of S. *Luke*, the abolition of *our ſins* is noted unto us. For ſo the Apoſtle ſaith, *God ſent his Son in the ſimilitude of ſinful fleſh*, there is the acception and the taking of our ſins upon

upon him; *and for ſin*, or by the ſacrifice for ſin, *condemned ſin in the fleſh*; there is the *expiation* of our ſins. And, Rom. 8. 3.

2. To the ſame purpoſe he obſerveth, that S. *Matthew* in his genealogie deſcended from *David* by *Solomon*, with whoſe mother *David* ſinned: but S. *Luke* aſcended by *Nathan* unto *David*, by a Prophet of which name God abſolved him from his ſin. 2 Obſervation.

The ſecond *Argument*, whereby S. *Luke* proveth Chriſt to be a *Prieſt*, is from the *quality* of a Prieſt, what *manner* of man he ſhould be; and that is, to be endued with *knowledge* and *uprightneſs*, or judgement and righteouſneſs: for which cauſe the Prophet prayeth, *Give the King thy judgement, O God, and thy righteouſneſs unto the Kings ſon*: For who is this *King*, and this *Kings ſon*, but this *Prieſt*, the Meſſias of the world? And ſo *Moſes* prayeth in like manner, *Let thy Urim and thy Thummim be with thy holy One*, or as ſome read it, *upon the man of thy mercie*: for who is this *holy One*, or this man of *his mercy*, but this our *true high Prieſt*, called the man of *his mercy*, 2 Argument from the quality of a Prieſt which ſhould be 1. knowledge. 2. uprightneſs. Pſ. 72. 1. Deut. 33. 8.

1. Becauſe he is the man that is *full of mercy*.

2. Becauſe that God out of his *meer mercy* did give this man unto us.

3. Becauſe by this *man onely* and none elſe, we obtain mercy.

And according to theſe two mens *prayer* for thoſe *two things* to be given unto the *high Prieſt*, God gave them moſt *amply*, without meaſure, unto the *Meſſias*, that is, our *high Prieſt*: For, *I have put my Spirit upon him*, ſaith the Lord, there is *knowledge*; and he ſhall bring forth *judgement* unto the *Gentiles*, there is *uprightneſs*. Eſay. 42. 1. Jer. 23. 5.

And S. *Luke* ſheweth, that Chriſt had *Urim and Thummim*, knowledge and uprightneſs *without meaſure*. For, 1. *Chriſt* his knowledge. Luke 11. 49.

In regard of the firſt, he plainly calleth him, the *wiſdome of God*. And his wiſdome *appeared*,

1. In his *wiſe*, unreprovable and unrepliable *anſwers* to *Satan*,

Satan, that ſubtil Serpent; to the *Herodians*, that feigned themſelves to be *juſt men*, and were ſent to intrap him in his ſpeech; and to the *chiefeſt Doctours* of the Jews, to whom he did ſo *wiſely* anſwer, that they durſt not *ask him* any thing at all: and if he asked *them* any queſtion, they anſwered, *They could not tell* how to anſwer him.

Luke 20. 7.

2. In his *heavenly teaching* of his followers, ſo *truly* expounding the Prophecyes of the Prophets, ſo *profoundly* ſpeaking to them in parables, ſo *plainly* delivering the Law unto them, and ſo *ſweetly* comforting all that came unto him, that *the eyes of all were faſtened upon him*, and they wondered *at the gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth*. And,

Luke 4. 20, 22.

2 His uprightneſs.

In regard of the ſecond, that is, his *uprightneſs*, S. *Mark* ſaith, that the people teſtified *he did all things well*. And S. *Peter* ſaith, *There was no guile found in his mouth*. And S. *Luke* confirmeth the *ſame* throughout his *whole Goſpel*.

Mark 7. 37.
1 *Pet.* 2. 22.

3 Argument from the office of a Prieſt, threefold.

The third *Argument* whereby S. *Luke* proveth Chriſt to be a *Prieſt*, is from the *duty* and *office* of a Prieſt, which is ſpecially threefold:

1. To *expound* the Law.
2. To *pray* for the people.
3. To offer *ſacrifice* for their ſins.

1. The Prophet *Malachy* ſaith, *The Prieſts lips ſhould keep knowledge*, and *the people ſhould ſeek the law at his mouth*. And S. *Hierom* ſaith, It is the *duty* of the Prieſt, to *anſwer* all that ask him concerning the Law; and therefore if he be the *Prieſt* of the Lord, let him *know the law* of the Lord: or if he be *ignorant* of the law, he is *no Prieſt* of the Lord.

Mal. 2. 7.

Hieron. *ſuper Hagg.*

And therefore S. *Luke* ſheweth, That Chriſt taught the people moſt *diligently*, expounded the Law moſt *truly*, and anſwered all queſtions that were asked of him, moſt *readily*. And,

2. He ſheweth, That he *prayed* for S. *Peter*, that his *faith ſhould not fail*: And S. *John* ſheweth, how he prayed for all

Luke 22. 32.

thoſe

thoſe whom his *father gave him*; and for all them alſo, which ſhould *believe on him* through the word. And, John 17. 11. & 20.

3. How, as a *Prieſt*, he offered *ſacrifice* for the ſins of the people (which he did both in the *Garden* and upon the *Croſs*.) S. *Luke* ſheweth it more *amply* then any of *all* the Evangeliſts; for though S. *Matthew* and S. *Mark* do tell us that he was in *heavineſs*, or exceeding ſorrowful, when he came to the garden: yet S. *Luke* expreſſeth the *matter* more fully and more lively then both of them: for he ſaith, that he fell into a *ſweating agony*, that is, a *perplexed fear* of one that is entring into a *greivous* conflict, as both *Ariſtotle* and Saint *Baſil* teſtifie. And ſuch a perplexed fear is a moſt *acceptable Sacrifice* in the ſight of God, as the Prophet ſaith, *The Sacrifice of God is a troubled ſpirit, a broken and a contrite heart O God ſhalt thou not deſpiſe*; and ſuch a *broken heart* was the heart of this *Prieſt* at this time, for here is both Ἀγωνία and Ἀγωνία, a combate and a Sacrifice, a *troubled Spirit* and a freſh *bleeding Sacrifice*. Matth. 26. 38. Marc. 14. 35. *Ariſtotl: ſect: 11. probl. 30. et Baſil. in c. 17. Iſaia.* Pſ. 51. 17.

1. He offered up his *ſoul* while he was in the Garden in a *fervent Prayer* to God, and that *Prayer*, ſaith Pope *Leo*, was *in omnibus perfecta*, in all things *perfect*, and for all men. And it conſiſted like a faithfull Prayer *plus gemitibus quam ſermonibus*, rather in ſighs then in words; for it was ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, very *ſhort*, but very *pithy*, few words but full of fervency, and therein his intention was *earneſt*, for he went a ſtones caſt from his Diſciples; his *love* was *great*, for he often ingeminated, *Father, Father*; his *faith* was *ſtedfaſt*, for he ſaid *my father*; his *affection* was vehement, for he cryed, *O my father*; his *humility* was *unfaigned*, for he *kneeled* down, and with great *reverence* he fell groveling upon his face, as Saint *Matth.* witneſſeth; his *conſtancie* was *apparent*, for he prayed *three times*; his *obedience* was *unreprovable*, for he ſaid, *Not my will* but *thy will be fulfilled*; and his *fervency* was *admirable*, for every word *drew drops of blood*: and therefore this *prayer* was directed as an *incenſe* in the ſight of his father, and the lifting up of his hands as an *evening ſacrifice*. And as the Apoſtle ſaith, he was heard in that which he feared; and he

1. He offered up his ſoul in prayer. *Leo Serm. 7. de paſſ.*

The quality of Chriſt his prayer. *Brevis oratio penetrat cœlum.*

Pſ. 14. 2.

had all that he deſired; for whereas S. *Bernard* demandeth, *Quid oras domine, quid ſudas*, and *quid ſitis?* for what doſt thou *pray O Lord*, and why doſt thou *ſweat?* Saint *Hilary* anſwereth, *Pro nobis oratio, pro nobis ſudor eſt*, his prayer and his ſweat, and his thirſt and *all*, was for us, and he obtained *all* for *us*. And then,

Hilarius l. 10. de Trinit.

2. As he *thas* offered up his *ſoul* in a *fervent* prayer for us; ſo, when it pleaſed the Lord *to bruiſe him*, as the Prophet ſaith, he offered up his *bloud* in a *ſweating* fervour, and his *body to be broken* for our ſins; and as the Angel *whoſe name was ſecret*, kindled the *fire* upon the Altar, and at length the flame *increaſing*, himſelf alſo *aſcended* in the ſame: ſo here in this *agony* of Chriſt, our Saviour kindled *the fire* of his love, and then as a *faithfull high Prieſt* he offered up himſelf, as a *ſweet ſmelling ſacrifice* unto God. And ſeeing *bloud* muſt make an *attonement* for the ſoul, and as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Without ſhedding of bloud there is no remiſſion*; therefore this our *Prieſt* ſhed his *own bloud*, to procure the forgiveneſs of *our ſins*: the bloud of his *head* when he was crowned with *thornes*, the bloud of his *heart* when he was pierced with a *ſpeare*, the bloud of *all parts* when he was *whipped*, and the bloud of his *whole body* when he ſweat the *drops of bloud*, not a watry dew, but *nimbus ſanguinis*, a bloudy ſhowre, when as *totus ſudore deſluit*, it paſſed through and through his garment and *trickled down to the ground*, as Saint *Luke* teſtifieth; that there might be, as the Pſalm. ſaith, *plenteous redemption*. And as *Eleazar* the *high Prieſt* was to take the *bloud* of the *heyfer* with his finger, and *ſprinkle* of her bloud *directly* before the Tabernacle of the Congregation *ſeven times*; ſo Chriſt our *Prieſt* ſhed his bloud *ſeven times* to purge away our ſins.

Eſay 53. 10.

2. He offered up his body to be broken, and his bloud to be ſhed for our ſins.

Levit. 17. 11. Heb. 9. 22.

Pſ. 130. 7.

Num. 19. 4. Levit. 8. 11.

1. In his *Circumciſion*, 2. In the *Garden*, 3. When he was crowned with *thornes*, 4. When he was *whipped*, 5. When his hands were *nailed*, 6 When his feet were faſtned to the *Croſs*, 7. When his ſide was *pierced* with a *ſpeare*. And then as the *ſin* of man was *maledictio terræ*, the curſe of the earth; ſo this *bloud* of Chriſt is *medicina terræ*, the medicine

That Chriſt ſhed his bloud ſeven times to cleanſe us of our ſins.

dicine of the world. And therefore the Apoſtle ſaith, that the *bloud of Chriſt ſpeaketh better things then the bloud of Abel*; for by the ſhedding of *Abels bloud*, Gods *wrath* was *kindled*, but by the ſhedding of *Chriſts bloud*, Gods wrath was *appeaſed*; the *bloud of Abel* gave life onely to *himſelf*, but the *bloud of Chriſt* gives life to *all beleivers*; the bloud of *Abel* cryed for *vengeance* againſt his brother, but the bloud of *Chriſt* cryeth for mercy unto his enemies, and the bloud of *Abel* cryed a while, and then *ceaſed*, and then it was no more *available*, but the bloud of *Chriſt* ſtill cryeth and *never ceaſeth*, and is available for us *for ever*. Heb. 12. 24.

And ſo you ſee how Saint *Luke* proveth Chriſt to be the *Prieſt*, which is to be *the Prieſt for ever, after the order of Melchiſedeck*, and therefore he is here underſtood by the *calf*, that was the *chiefeſt ſacrifice* of the Prieſts.

3. By him that had the *face of a man*, the fathers do underſtand Saint *Mark*, becauſe his *principal aime* was to ſhew that Chriſt was a *true* and *perfect man*, the ſon of a *poor Carpenter*, and in all things like unto us, *ſin onely excepted*. And this truth was ſo *manifeſt* that his very enemies confeſt it, and would have *ſtoned* him becauſe that he being *a man* made himſelf *a God*: for their eyes ſaw that he had *fleſh and bloud* like other men, and that he did *hunger* and *thirſt* and was *weary*, and touched with all the *blameleſſe paſſions* and *affections* of other men, and therefore Saint *Mark* is very *ſhort* in his Goſpel, not above ſixteen Chapters in all; becauſe he needed not to uſe many Arguments, when as all that ſaw him did *readily* confeſs it. 3. St. *Mark* is underſtood by him that had the face of a man, Mark. 6. 3. John 10. 33.

4. By the *flying Eagle* all the old Interpreters do underſtand Saint *John*, becauſe that when *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*, two Jewiſh Proſelites, denied the *Deity* of Chriſt, he *purpoſely* wrote his Goſpel for that *main end*, to confute that *damnable* errour, as *Euſebius* and others teſtifie; and therefore in the very *Frontiſpiece* of his work, he mounteth up like an *Eagle*, and ſaith, *in the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God*: and ſo throughout his *whole* Goſpel you may eaſily perceive his *chiefeſt aime* is to prove 4. Saint *John* underſtood by the flying Eagle. John 1. 1.

that the ſon of *Mary* is the ſon of the *eternal God*, coeternal and coequal with his father, and eſpecially becauſe he *proveth* him,

1. To be the *Creator* of all things, *c.* 1.

2. To be καρδιογνώστης, the knower and ſearcher of the ſecrets of our hearts, *c.* 2. 25.

3. To be the worker of ſuch *miracles*, as the raiſing up of *Lazarus*, and the like, which none could do but *God*

And it was *requiſite* that the *mediator* betwixt God and man, ſhould be *God and man*; *Man*, becauſe man had ſinned, and therefore *meet* that man ſhould make ſatisfaction, and not *Ziba* make the fault, and *Mephiboſheth* bear the puniſhment, which ſhould be very unjuſt; and *God*, becauſe our nature *ſhould*, but *could* not bear the *burthen* which was the *weight* of Gods wrath for our ſins. But God, as God, *could*, but *ought* not; and therefore, ſeeing the one *ought* but *could* not, and the other *could* but *ought* not, *God* and *man* muſt be joyned together in *one perſon*, that man *might* do what he *ought* to do, and *ſuffer* what he *ought* to *ſuffer*; and ſo goe *thorough* the work of our redemption.

And therefore, as Saint *Mark* had proved Chriſt to be a *man*: ſo Saint *John* proveth him to be the *true* and *eternal* God. And ſo you ſee that by theſe *four Beaſts* we are *primarily* to underſtand the *four Evangeliſts*.

Secondly, all the good Magiſtrates and Miniſters are underſtood to be like theſe four beaſts.

Secondly, As the *four Evangeliſts* are in the *firſt place* to be underſtood by theſe *four Beaſts*, for the reaſons before ſhewed; ſo likewiſe all *Magiſtrates* and all *Miniſters* ought to be like theſe four Beaſt. As,

1. Like the Lion.
Joſ. 1.7.

1. Like the *Lion* for courage, without fear, *Confidens ut leo abſque terrore*; for ſo the Lord commanded *Joſhua* to be ſtrong and of a good courage, ſaying, *Only be thou ſtrong and of a moſt valiant courage*: and ſo *Jethro* tells *Moſes*, That his Judges ſhould be *men of courage* and undaunted, *Quia timiditas Judicis eſt calamitas innocentis*. So when the *Jews* told *Pilat*, if thou letteſt this man go, *Thou art none of Cæſar's friend*, he was *afraid*; and through that *fear* he condemned the *Son of God*. And ſo doth *fear* cauſe many o-

thers

thers to wrong the *Innocents*. And therefore to you that are the *Judges*, to ſettle the *diſturbed* Eſtates of this Kingdom, I ſay, that it cannot be, but that *many*, and *many great men* will frett and chaſe, and be *diſcontented* at your doings, though you do never ſo *juſtly*: but it is your *duty* to do that which is *juſt*; and in doubtful caſes, when evidences on both ſides are in *æquilibrio*, to encline to that which tendeth to the *ſervice* of God's *Church*, and the *honour* of the King's Majeſty: and you ought *always* to remember what the *Wiſeman* ſaith, *Love righteouſneſs yee that be Judges of the Earth*; *for righteouſneſs exalteth a Nation*. And this *righteouſneſs* you cannot *preſerve*, unleſs you be *like Lions*, without *fear*, either of *threatnings* or of *dangers*. *Sap.* 1. 1. *Proverb.*

And as the *Magiſtrates*, ſo the *Miniſters* and Preachers of God's word ſhould be like *Lions*, to do their *duties* without *fear*; for ſo the Lord ſaith unto *Ezechiel*, I ſend thee *to a rebellious Nation*, but thou ſon of man, *be not afraid of them*, neither be *afraid* of their words, nor *diſmayed* at their looks, *Quia timiditas Predicantis eſt calamitas Audientis*, Becauſe the *fear* of the *Preacher* is the *calamity* of the *Hearer*, when the *fear* of *reproving* mens ſins *hardeneth* them in their ſins, and *encourageth* them to ſin more and more. And therefore I ſay, that we ſhould remember what the Lord commandeth us, *Cry aloud, and ſpare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and ſhew my people their tranſgreſſion, and the houſe of Jacob their ſins*. And if the *great* men of the world *threaten* us to rob us of our *lands*, or deprive us of our *liberties*, let us look what the Lord ſaith, *I, even I, am he that comforteth you; and who art thou, that thou ſhouldeſt be afraid of a man that ſhall dye, and of the ſon of man which ſhall be made as graſs, and forgetteſt the Lord thy maker, that hath ſtretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth, and haſt feared continually every day, becauſe of the fury of the oppreſſor, as if he were ready to deſtroy?* Ezech. 2. 6. *Eſay* 57. 1. *Eſay* 51. 12, 13.

And it is *well* that he ſaith, *I, even I am he that comforteth you*, ſeeing it is with us as it was with *Ezechiel*, that *Bryars and thorns are with us, and we dwell among ſcorpions, a rebelli-* Ezech. 2. 3, 4.

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ous Nation, that are *impudent* and *ſtiff-hearted*; for I muſt *humbly* crave leave to tell you a ſtory of *truth* and no *fiction*. When I came firſt to lie in the Biſhops houſe in *Kilkeny*, I dreamed, that the Biſhops Court was full of *people*, Citizens, Souldiers, and Gentlemen, with Drumms, Swords and Muſkets, and being *affrighted* with the ſight of them, before they had entred the houſe, or done any hurt, *I preſently awaked*, and looking out at the window for them, I ſaw none: then for many dayes I often muſed, what this meant, at laſt I found that the *Citizens* of *Kilkeny* on the one ſide, the *Souldiers* on the other ſide, and the *Knights* and *Gentlemen* round about, came *about me* like Bees, to rob God of his *honour*, and the Church of her *right*, by dividing her *Revenues* amongſt themſelves, as the *Souldiers* did the *Garments* of *Chriſt*. And I neither *fear* nor *care* what any man thinks of what I ſay, my *duty* telling me what I ſhould ſay.

But though they *threaten* to be my *ruine*, and to cauſe me to *ſpend* what I intended to the *repair* of the *flat-fallen* Church, to preſerve the Revenues of the Biſhoprick, yet ſeeing the Lord ſaith, *I, even I am he that comforteth thee*, and that have delivered thee from ſo *many dangers*, and ſo *many times* from the hands of moſt *mercyleſs* Rebels, and bids me not to *fear*, I muſt not be *diſmayed*; but as *Elias* told *Ahab*, and *S. Baptiſt* told *Herod* of their faults without *fear*: ſo *I*, and all *others*, that are *God's Miniſters*, ought to be *bold* as *Lions*, to reprove the ſins of the people, and eſpecially thoſe ſins, that are moſt *frequently* committed, and are moſt prejudicial to the ſervice of God, and moſt pernicious to their ſouls; leaſt as *Lucian* ſaith, Καπνὸν φεύγοντες εἰς τὸ πῦρ πεσώμεθα, by eſcaping the *ſmoak* of mans *anger* we ſhall *fall* into the *fire* of God's fury, when we fear *men* more then *God*. And therefore, my *dear brethren*, I had rather you ſhould *blame* me for my *boldneſs*, then that God ſhould *puniſh* me for my *fearfulneſs*; and I know, that as the *Drunkard* cannot endure to be told of his *drunkeneſs*, or the *proud man* of his *pride*, or the *Rebel* of his *rebellion*: ſo no more can theſe *ſacrilegious perſons* abide to hear of their *ſacriledge*. And muſt we therefore

ſore hold our peace, for *fear* of their ſayings, jeeres, or threats? By no means.

2. As we ſhould be bold as *Lions* without *fear*; ſo we ſhould be *diligent* and *painful* in our places, like the *Oxen*, without lazineſs, to pray *continually*, and to preach *conſtantly*, and as the Apoſtle ſaith, *in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon*; that is, not ſo *frequently*, as our late *Fanatiques* would have us, to preach Sermons full of *words* without *ſubſtance*: but as St. *Auguſtine* expounds it, *Volentibus & nolentibus*, For to the *willing* hearers it *comes in ſeaſon*, and to the *unwilling* it comes *out of ſeaſon*, whenſoever it cometh.

2. That the Magiſtrates and Miniſt. ſhould be like the Ox, painful and diligent to doe their duties.

And when we do *this*, then, as the mouth of the *Ox* that treadeth out the *corn* ſhould not be *muzzled*, ſo ought not we to be *moleſted*, nor detained and held with *vexatious ſuits*, to hinder us, to diſcharge our *neceſſary duties*: leſt the *puniſhment* of our *neglect* ſhould fall upon the *heads* of them that *cauſe* it. For we are ſure, that our God is ſo *juſt*, that he will not *puniſh* any one for *not doing* that, which he is *not ſuffered to doe*; as, for *not going* into his Church, when the wayes are *ſo ſtopt*, that he cannot *poſſibly* paſs it,

3. The Magiſtrates ſhould be like men, ſober and rational, and not voluptuous, like Beaſts.

3. We ſhould be, not like the *horſe* and *mule*, that have no underſtanding, and *whoſe mouths* muſt be holden with *bitt* and *bridle*, leſt they fall upon thee; but we ſhould be endued with *reaſon*, like unto *rational men*, that, as *Cicero* ſaith, *Agere quicquam nunquam debent, cujus non poſſunt rationem probabilem reddere*, ought never to do *any thing*, whereof they could not yield a *very probable* reaſon. And God knows, how *many things* we do, for which we can yield *no reaſon* at all. For what *reaſon* had we to wax *weary* of our *peace* and of our *happineſs*, and to rebel againſt a moſt *gracious King* to deſtroy our ſelves? And what *reaſon* have we to expect God's *bleſſing*, and yet to continue *ſacrilegious* to rob God of his dues? Or is there *any reaſon*, that any *Common-wealth* ſhould keep Souldiers to protect them, and not *regard them*, nor countenance them, nor pay them their wages? Surely they are very *neceſſary* to preſerve our *peace*, and they ought not to be ſlighted; and *John Baptiſt* ſaith, *They ſhould be*

content

content with their wages: but they ſhould therefore have their *wages*: and how ſhould they have their *wages* if the *Superiour* officers defraud the *inferiour* Souldiers, or the *cloſe-handed* people detain their *taxes*? I know not where the fault is, if there be any; but I know his *Majeſty* and his *Immediate Governours*, would have all things done with *uprightneſs*, and according to the Dictate of *right reaſon*.

But to leave *theſe* and the like *unreaſonable men*, that do theſe and the like things without reaſon.

4. They ſhould be endued with the properties of the Eagle.

4. We ſhould all be like the *flying Eagle*, and the chiefeſt properties of the *Eagle* are,

1. A *ſharp ſight*.
2. A *lofty flight*.

Job. 39. 32. And both theſe are expreſſed in the Book of the *Righteous*, where the Lord demandeth of *Job*, *Doth the Eagle mount up at thy command, and make her neſt on high? She dwelleth and abideth on the Rock, upon the crag of the Rock and the ſtrong place*, there is her *lofty flight*; then he proceedeth, and ſaith, *From thence ſhe ſeeketh the prey, and her eyes behold afar off*, there is her *ſharp ſight*: and of this *ſharpneſs of ſight*, Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, that, being aloft in the clouds, ſhe can diſcern, *Sub frutice leporem, & ſub fluctibus piſcem*, Under the ſhrubs an *hare*, and under the waves a *fiſh*.

1 The ſharp ſight of the Eagle.

How ſharp our ſight ſhould be in ſpiritual things.

Even ſo ſhould we that profeſs *Religion*, eſpecially we that are the *Miniſters* of God, ſhould have *Eagles eyes*, to ſee the *Majeſty* of God in a *bramble-buſh*, like *Moſes*; to diſcern the *preſence* of *Chriſt* with us in the *fiery furnace*, like *Abednego*; to behold an *Army* of Angels ready to *defend* us in our *ſtraighteſt ſiege*, like *Elizans*; and to conſider the *aſſiſtance* of God to *help* us when we are *moleſted* and *compaſſed* with the *greateſt heaps of afflictions*, like the holy Apoſtle St. *Paul*.

Exod. 3. 2.
Dan. 3. 25.
2 *Reg.* 6. 17.
Rom. 8. 18.

The worldly mans quick ſight.

But this the children of this *Generation* cannot doe; for though the underſtanding of the *worldly* man, which *Nazianzen* call'eth, τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν λαμπάδος, *the eyes and lamp of reaſon*, be pi rcing, *ſharp*, and cunning enough to make a *large ſhekel*

ſhekel and a *ſmall Epha*; and very *well able* to diſcern the *alterations of the ſkyes*, as our *Saviour* witneſſeth; yea, and to enter, like *Ariſtotle*, into the *ſecrets* of nature, and the *deepneſs* of *Satan*, to finde out the *plots* and *practices* of his *craftyeſt* inſtruments: yet being but a meer *natural man*, he cannot perceive *the things* that be of God, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, neither can his underſtanding reach *any further* then τὰ ἀνεργὲς, *ſuch things*, as may be manifeſted by *demonſtration*, as St. *Clement* ſaith. For, *Amos* 8. 5. *Luke* 12. 56. 1 *Cor.* 2. 14.

If you talk of *Chriſt's conception* in the wombe of a *pure Virgin*, without the *help* of a man, then the *Heathen*, like *Sarah*, laugheth at it; and the *wiſe Philoſopher*, as being in *darkneſs*, ſtumbleth at it, and cannot *conceive* how this thing can be. If you talk of *Chriſt's death*, and ſay, that our *God* ſhould *dye*, and by his *death* procure to us *eternal life*, then the *Jews* will *ſtorm* at our folly, and the *Grecians* count it a *meer madneſs*, and a *great reproach* to our *Religion*. And if you talk of his *glory* and *power*, that being *dead* and *buryed*, he ſhould *raiſe himſelf* again, and now *reign* as a King of Kings in Heaven, then the children of *infidelity* deem it ἔσον λῆρον, *a feigned thing*. And the *reaſon* thereof is rendred by St. *Auguſtine*, that as the eye of man, if it be either *blinde* or *purblinde*, cannot thereby diſcern the *cleareſt* object; even ſo ſaith he, *animus pollutus, aut mens turbata*, a ſoul defiled with *ſin*, or a minde diſturbed with *worldly cares*, can neither *ſee God*, that is preſent with him, nor *underſtand the things of God*, that belong unto him. His dimneſs and blindeneſs in ſpiritual things. The reaſon of the worldly mans blindeneſs.

Yet the *ſpiritual* man, that hath the *Eagles eyes*, which *Philo* calleth *fidem oculatam*, faith enlightened by Gods *ſpirit*, can diſcern all the *deep things* of God, even the moſt *excellent myſtery* of godlineſs, which is, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *God manifeſted in the fleſh, juſtified in the ſpirit, ſeen of Angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, and received up into glory*. For in the *unſpeakable birth of Chriſt* the Eagles eye doth behold a *divine miracle*, in his *accurſed death* it ſeeth a *glorious victory*, and in his *return* from *death* it conceiveth an *aſſured hope* of everlaſting life. The ſpiritual mans quick ſight. 1 *Tim.* 3. 16.

2. The lofty flight of the Eagle.

2. The *next Property* of the *Eagle* is her *lofty flight*, for the Poets *feign*, that the *Eagle* fled up to Heaven, and laid there her eggs in *Jupiter's* lap; and the Prophet *Eſay* alludeth to her *lofty* flight, when he ſaith, that thoſe *which wait upon*

Eſay.40. ult. *God ſhall renew their ſtrength, and ſhall lift up their wings as the*

Jerem. 49. 16. *Eagles*; but *Jeremiah* goeth on further and ſaith, that *the Eagles do build their neſts on high*: and yet *Ezechiel* goeth beyond them both, for he ſaith, that *the great Eagle with great wings, long winged, full of feathers, which had diverſe colours,*

Ezech. 17. 3. *came unto Lebanon, and took the higheſt branch of the Cedar,* where you ſee, ſhe takes firſt the *higheſt tree*, and then the *higheſt branch* of that tree. I know it was a *Viſion* that ſhewed the *ſtate* of *Jeruſalem*; but yet you may ſee thereby the *lofty flight* of the Eagle. So St. *John* flew as *high* as Heaven to begin his Goſpel; and ſo we, *conſidere debemus in cœlis*, ought to have our mindes ſet, not on the fooleries and vanities

Epheſ. 2. 6. of this world, but on *heavenly things* and *heavenly places*,

Eſay 58. 14. that, being mounted up, *ſuper altitudines terræ*, above all the high places of the earth, as the Prophet ſpeaketh, we may behold *all the things* of this world to be *tanquam muſcas*, but as gnats and flyes; or like the *ſpiders* web, that though it be never ſo *curiouſly* woven, yet will it make no *garment* for us; and ſo all the *titles* of honour to be, but *folia venti*, the windy blaſts of a *fleſhly* pair of bellows, too weak an air to carry up a

How to deem of all worldly things. *noble Eagle*; all the pleaſures of this world to be, but *lilia agri*, like the lilies of the field, that are more *delectable* in ſhew then *durable* for continuance, and all the *allectives* under heaven to be but *vanity of vanities*, and altogether vanities. For *thus* by a *contemplation* and continual conſideration of *heavenly* things, it would appear unto us, *quam abjecta ſunt, quæ jam alta videntur*, how baſe are *all the things* of this world, in our judgements *rightly* informed, which now ſeem ſo *precious* in our imaginations, being corrupted.

What the ſpiritual men that are like the noble Eagle ſhould doe. And therefore if we would be like the *noble Eagles*, mounting up to Heaven; then, as *Moſes* builded his tent *without* the hoſte, and *far* from the hoſte: ſo ſhould we build our habitation *out* of this world, and far *above* the world; and as *Elias* when he

he journeyed towards Heaven in his fiery Chariot, and was *flying* up in a whirlwinde, beſtript himſelf of his *mantle*, and threw it *down* to the earth, leſt the *weight* of it ſhould preſſe him *downward*, ard ſo hinder his *aſcent* to Heaven: even ſo, if we deſire to *aſcend* to Heaven, we muſt beſtrip our ſelves of all *worldly* impediments, that are as *heavy* as a *talent* of *lead*, and do not onely hinder us from *aſcending* upwards, but do preſs many men *down* to the bottomleſs pit. And as the Prophet *David*, in all diſtreſſes, comforted himſelf with that *pious meditation*, ſaying *Whom have I in heaven but thee, and what is there on earth that I deſire in compariſon of thee?* ſo do all thoſe, that make their *unum neceſſarium*, their chiefeſt purpoſe and deſign to go to *Chriſt* to have an *everlaſting* houſe and lands, *ſatisfie* themſelves with the *hope* of obtaining their deſire.

And this is the reaſon, that ſeeing God hath *given* them *all that they have*, they weigh not a *ſtraw* if they be driven to *ſpend* all that they have, for the *benefit* and good of the *Church* of *Chriſt*, and to promote the *ſervice* of God. And if the wiſe men of the *world* laugh at our *folly*, and ſay, we ſhall *ſpend* ten times more then we ſhall ever *get*. We may anſwer, that for our *loſſes* and *expences* they are but as *feathers*, and that ſhall never *trouble* us; but our *hope* is, that we ſhall attain unto our *deſire*, which is, to *mount* up with the reſt of God's *Eagles* unto the Kingdom of Heaven, and that will *countervail* all our loſſes. And ſo much for the *peculiar* and proper *Deſcription* of theſe *Beaſts*.

THE SECOND SERMON.

REVEL. 4. 8.

And the four Beaſts had each of them ſix wings about him, &c.

2. FOR their *general* and common deſcription, it is ſaid, *they had each one of them ſix wings about him, and they were all full of eyes.* Touching which you muſt obſerve. 2. Their general and common deſcription.

1. Some things about their *wings.*

2. Some things about their *eyes.* And,

1. About their *wings.* Theſe two things are to be noted; 1. Of their wings.

1. What *are* theſe ſix wings.
2. To what *end* they had theſe *wings*, or what *uſe* they made of them.

1. *Rupertus*

1. What they are.

1. *Rupertus* and others ſay, theſe ſix wings are the ſix works of *mercy*, *viſito*, *poto*, *cibo*, *redimo*, *tego*, *colligo fratres*, that is, as our Saviour ſets them down, to give meat unto the *hungry*, drink unto the *thirſty*, lodging to the *ſtranger*, cloathe to the *naked*, and to viſit the *ſick*, and thoſe that are *in priſon*: others underſtand hereby the ſix *ſpiritual* works of piety and mercy, which are to correct the *offendor*, to inſtruct and conſell the *ignorant*, to comfort the *afflicted*, to bear *patiently* all injuries, to forgive all *treſpaſſes*, and to pray for our *enemies* and *perſecutors*: but *Balæus* and *Lambert* ſay, that theſe ſix wings are *faith*, *hope*, *charity*, *juſtice*, *mercy* and *truth*; and I think they come *neareſt* unto the truth, for by *thoſe ſix* we ſhall be able to *ſhun* and flie away from all the *miſcheifs* of the world; and *theſe ſix wings* are able to *mount* us up unto our father in Heaven. And they that have not *theſe ſix wings* are rightly ſaid to be like the *Oſtrich*, which often *ſpreads* her wings but ſeldome *flieth*.

Matth. 25. 35.

But they that have *theſe ſix wings* are moſt happy, and need not fear the *greateſt dangers*, nor the malice of their greateſt enemies. For,

1. Faith is *radix omnium virtutum*, the root of all virtues; and you know what *mightie* things Saint *Paul* ſetteth down, to have been done through *faith*.

2. *Spes alit afflictos*, hope preſerveth the *afflicted*, and maketh not *aſhamed*, ſaith the Apoſtle.

3. *Charity* covereth a *multitude* of ſins; and of all the three *divine* graces, μείζων δὲ τούτων ἡ ἀγάπη, the greateſt of them all is *charity*

4. Juſtice is ſuch a *cardinal* virtue that *Theognis* a Heathen ſaith, ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνη συλλήβδην πᾶς ἀρετὴ ἔστι, juſtice comprehends *all virtues*.

5. Our Saviour ſaith, *bleſſed are the mercifull*, for that they are ſure to obtain mercy. And,

6. Truth as *Zorob.* proveth, is ſo *great*, that it will prevaile againſt *all oppoſitions*, for though that by the *tricks* and delayes of ſutle heads, it may be clouded for a time, yet at *laſt* it will bud forth and appear.

But

But I *fear* the Lord hath a *controverſie* with the Inhabitants of this Land, becauſe as the Prophet ſaith, there is *no truth*, nor *mercy*, I may add, nor *juſtice*, nor *knowledge* of God in the Land; or if theſe be, then I am ſure you will not *build up Zion* with bloud, and *Jeruſalem* with iniquity, becauſe the Lord loves neither *Houſe* nor *Lands* that are *unjuſtly* obtained. I cannot ſtand to *examine* it, or to handle the *particulars* that might be ſaid concerning *theſe ſix points*; for that might require *ſix houres* to do it at leaſt: but I will proceed and ſay,

2. If you would know to what *end* they had theſe wings, or what *uſe* they made of them, the Prophet *Eſay* tells you in the practice of the *Seraphims*, that it was for theſe *three ſpecial ends*: That is,

2. What uſe they made of their wings.

1. To cover their *faces*.
2. To cover their *feet*.
3. To *flie* about.

For he ſaith, that *with two of their wings they cover'd their faces, and with two they covered their feet, and with two they did flie.* Eſay. 6. 2.

And this they did for theſe *three ends*: That is,

1. To check our *curioſity*.
2. To ſhew our *miſery*.
3. To teach us *induſtry*.

1. It is the *nature*, and the *fooliſh* diſpoſition of man to be alwayes prying and ſearching into every thing, the *ſecrets* of God, the *myſteries* of ſtate, and the *obſcurities* of nature. And yet the *Seraphims* that ſtand in the *preſence* of God are fain to cover their *faces*, not to hide their ſins which they had not, but becauſe they are not able to behold the *brightneſs* of Gods glorious *Majeſty*; and if the *Angels* hid their *faces* from the *brightneſs* of Gods Glory, how dares *ſinfull man* prie into it? becauſe, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *he dwels in the light that*

1 Tim. 6. 16. *light that no man can attain unto it*, and the Lord ſaith himſelf, that Exod. 34. 20. *no man could ſee his face and live*; for though we walk in the *chearfull light* of the *Sun*, yet we are not able fully and directly to look upon the Sun when he ſhineth in his *full ſtrength* and *brightneſs*, but it will *dazle* our eyes, and make them to ſee a thouſand colours. And as a pure *chryſtal glaſs* cannot indure the *ſtrong working* of the fire, but it will *break* all to pieces; even ſo the weakneſs of mans mortal nature, though it *liveth* by the enjoying of Gods *preſence*, yet it cannot bear, nor comprehend the glory and brightneſs of Gods Majeſty; but that, in looking upon ſo *clear* an object, the *eyes* of his underſtanding ſhall be *dazled*, and he ſhall fall and be *ſwallowed up* into a thouſand errours. For ſeeing, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, our knowledge of God in 1 Cor. 13. 12. this life is but *in part*, like the beholding of a man *ſuddenly* paſſing by us, when we can look upon *nothing* but onely his back parts, it is impoſſible for *any* man in this *mortality* to know perfectly and exactly the *being* and *wayes* of the moſt higheſt.

And therefore this checketh the curioſity, and reproveth the *boldneſs* of thoſe men that like *Phaeton* will flie and *mount* up *too high* to ſearch into the Heavenly *myſteries*: for as the *wiſe* man ſaith, Eccluſ. 1. 2. *who can number the ſand of the ſea, the drops of rain, and the dayes of time? who can meaſure the height of Heaven, the breadth of the Earth, and the depth of the Sea? Who can find out the wiſdome of God which hath been before all things?* For if we conſider either the *nature* and *eſſence* of God, or if we look into the *counſels* and works of God, we ſhall *eaſily* Damaſc. Iſag. perceive that they are all *incomprehenſible*. *Et ſi quid facit Deus naturæ nobis aſſuetæ repugnans, nihil tamen facit rationi repugnans*, And if God doth any thing that ſeemeth *repugnant* to our *accuſtomed* nature; yet we may be *ſure* he doth *nothing* that is repugnant to *reaſon*. And though *all* that God doth be *exceeding good*, yet we cannot always perceive *many* of them to be good; and yet this makes them not to be Gregor. in Job. c. 9. *unjuſt*, becauſe we underſtand them not to be juſt: for as St. *Gregory* ſaith, *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt*, He that

is

ſeeth not the *reaſon* of Gods doings, let him conſider his own *infirmity* and *blindneſs*, *& rationem videat cur non videt*, and he ſhall *ſoon* ſee the reaſon, why he ſeeth it not: and if we ſeek to know more then we are able to *underſtand*, we ſhall underſtand leſs then we do: And therefore *Solomon* gives good counſell to theſe *Gnoſticks*, ſaying, *be not thou juſt overmuch, neither make thy ſelf over-wiſe.* For the myſtery of the Lords commanding *Adam*, *that he ſhould not eat of the tree of knowledge*, was very great, becauſe the knowledge that he ſhould get thereby, would not onely cauſe his *preſent fall*, but alſo make both *him* and all his *ſons* for evermore to fall. *Eccleſ.* 7. 18

That we ought not to be too curious to ſearch into divine myſteries.

And therefore the *ſubtle Serpent* that aymed at the *readieſt* way to deſtroy them, promiſed unto *Eva* (and he kept his promiſe) that if they would eat of the *tree of knowledge*, their eyes *ſhould be opened* and they ſhould be as *Gods*, knowing *good and evil*, and ſo it was; for the text ſaith, that *their eyes were opened*, and they had the knowledge both *of good and evil*, the good that they had *loſt*, and the evil that they had *fallen into*; for they knew *that they were naked.* *Gen.* 3. 5. *V.* 7.

And ſo *this knowledge* did but direct them a way to *run away* from God, and teach them the *art* to ſowe fig-leaves *together*, to cover their *ſhame*, and to hide their wickedneſs and themſelves from the *ſight* of God, which they could never do: And therefore happy *Adam* hadſt thou been if thou never hadſt had this knowledge, for this knowledge made thee to *fall*; and ſo the Prophet *Eſay* ſaith of *Babylon, thy wiſdom and thy knowledge have cauſed thee to rebel, or to turn away*; and ſo *Ovid* ſaith of himſelf. *Eſay* 47. 10.

Ingenio perii qui miſer ipſe meo.

My wit and my knowledge hath *undone* me. And I fear that *many* other men will cry out, that their too greedy a deſire *inconceſſa ſcientia*, of unlawful knowledge, and *prying* too far into *hidden myſteries* hath hurried them into moſt *deſperate* concluſions; for though it be very true, that no *other creature* upon earth hath *reaſon* and *underſtanding* but onely man: yet

it is as true, that no other creature goeth *ſo far* from reaſon as *man alone*. And therefore I do not ſay, happy are the beaſts that *want reaſon*; but I ſay unhappy is that man, *qui cum ratione inſanit*, that runneth *mad* with the *reaſon* that God hath given him, and by aſpiring to get unlawful knowledge, doth fall into *unavoidable* miſchief.

And therefore the Devil could *wiſh* that all his ſervants were as knowing as *Berengarius*, and as ſubtle as *Dunſ Scotus*; becauſe he hath more excellent *execrable* ſervice from one of them, then he can have from a thouſand others: for it is a true ſaying, *That inferiour conceits have inferiour ſins, & non niſi ex magnis ingeniis magni errores*, and the great errors never came but from *great wits*, ſuch as *Arius*, *Pelagius*, and the reſt of the great *Hereticks* had. And as it was the *Giants* and *Lucifer* that highly rebelled and warred againſt God, and as it was the *Princes* and the *Kings* of the earth, that *ſtood up and took counſel againſt the Lord and againſt his Anointed*; So it is the great Lords that were the *great rebels*, and the mean men that were *infirmiores in exercitu*, are but as the *tayle* of the *Dragon* which the great men drew after them. And ſo it is the *curious* wits, the *pryers* and *ſearchers* after *unſearchable* knowledge and ſecret myſteries, that *hatch* the cockatrice eggs, and produce the moſt *deſperate errours*.

And therefore, ſeeing the *ambitious* deſires of attaining *more* knowledge then beſeemeth us, and the knowledge of thoſe *ſecret* things, that as *Moſes* ſaith belong unto the Lord our God, are the Devil's *ſplendida peccata*, his gliſtering ſins, *& generoſa ſcelera*, his noble projects, his jewels, and moſt honourable ſtratagems which have cauſed many men not onely to fall away, but alſo to *run away* from God, we ought to take the counſel of Saint *Auguſtin*, *Magis metuere cum in intellectu habitat diabolus quam cum in affectionibus*, to fear more when the Devil dwelleth in the *underſtanding* then when he corrupteth our *affections*, when as a *Peſtilent Heretique*, or a *Seminary Prieſt*, or a *Fanatique Non-conformiſt*, doth more miſchief then either a *diſſolute drunkard*, or a covetous merchant. And when we can not comprehend the *Majeſty* of God

Deut, 29, 29.

The Seminary Prieſts and *Preſbyterians*, the moſt dangerous people in the Church of God.

God, we should say with our selves, it is no marvel; because he dwels in the Light, *that none can attain unto it*: so when we can not understand his ways, nor dive into the depth of his counsels, and his decrees of *election* and *reprobation* and the like, we should say with the Prophet *David*, *thy way is in the sea, thy pathes in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known.* And so when we can not see the reason of his judgments, why this man *prospereth*, and that man is punished, and as *Homer* saith

Ps. 77. 19.

Τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μὲν ἔδωκε πατὴρ, ἕτερον δὲ ἀνένευσε.
Annuit hoc illi divum pater, abnuit illud.

Homer Iliad π.

Why he *giveth* this thing, and *denyeth* that thing, why he *raiseth* this man, *throweth down* that man, we should cry out with the Apostle, *O the deepness of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgements, and his ways past finding out?*

And therefore, least (as they say) *Pliny* burnt himself in Mount *Ætna* by searching too far into the cause of its continual burning, and *Aristotle* drowned himself in the sea of *Oseria*, by diving *too deep* into the *causes* of its extraordinary flowing; So our eyes should be *dazled* with the brightness of Gods presence, and our selves swallowed up in his bottomless counsels, we should not presume to look *too fully* upon so glorious a Majesty, we should not dive *too far* into the depth of those bottomless mysteries: but, as these *heavenly beasts*, and the holy Cherubims did *cover their faces with two of their wings*, So should we; because we are *no ways* able to dive into the depth of them.

But as the Poet can say to every boy

Mitte arcana Dei cælumque inquirere quid sit;

That the secrets of State ought not to be pried into by the vulgar people.

So you must know, that besides *arcana Dei*, there are also *mysteria imperii*, secrets of State, which we must not *search into* but with these beasts *cover our faces* with two of our wings

wings; for if there were *no government* both in the Church and Common-wealth, but *Anarchy*, and as the Poet saith

Totaque discors :
All things in confusion ;

We were in a *worse condition* then the bruit beasts. For they are *governed* by the law of *strength*, when the *weakest* must yield and obey the *stronger*, as all the beasts unto the Lion, the fowles unto the Eagle, and the fishes unto the *Whale* : But God ordered that men, indued with *reason* should be guided and governed by Lawes, not onely those that he delivered himself, but also those that are made by the *wisest* of men, as *Moses*, *Solon*, *Lycurgus*, and the like, *Kings* and *Princes*; and their *under-Magistrates* to rule and to govern the people according to their Lawes: and this *government* is a matter of great weight and moment. And therefore the Prophet saith, that Christ his government is upon *his shoulders*, not in *his hand*, or at the *armes end*, but upon his shoulders, which are the *bearing members* of all heavy things: and government requires not onely *strength* and strong shoulders to *bear* it, but also *wisdome*, and a good head, to guide it; because it is *ars artium gubernare populum*, it is one of the hardest things in the World, and the chiefest of all arts, to *govern* the people, especially when *turba* begins to be *turbata multitudo*, that is, wayward and froward. And therefore the Prophet *David* compareth the government of the unruly people, to the appeasing of the *raging seas*, saying unto God, *Thou stillest the rage of the sea, and the noyse of his waves, and the madness of the people.*

Esay 9. 6.

How hard a thing it is to govern the unruly people.

And this *madness* of the people requires *grave* Judges, and *wise* Lawyers, that can truly *interpret* the Lawes, and *judg* all differences *according to Law*, which otherwise would be made like a *nose of wax*, to be turned which way you will.

And least their *madness* should stop the current both of the Law and Religion too, and so destroy both the *learned* Lawyers that preserve our *right*, and without whom we were not able to *live* in the Common-wealth; and the *Preachers of the Gospel*

Goſpel that maintain *Religion*, without which we were *moſt miſerable* (as of late years they intended to do) The Kings and Princes that are the *governours* of the people, muſt maintain *ſoldiers* and *Captaines* to ſuppreſs their *madneſs*, and to preſerve *peace* and *religion* both in the Church and Commonwealth. And therefore the ſoldiers as I ſhewed not long ſince, are not to be *ſlighted*, but to be *cheriſhed* and ſatisfyed for their wages, that, as *John Baptiſt* ſaith, they may be contented therewith, and not forced through want to *oppreſs* the people.

And ſeeing *all theſe* things and *abundance* more of like ſort, that are *requiſite* for the *government* of the people, can not be done without a great deale of *counſel*, and *wiſedome*, and *pollicy*, and *ſtrength*, and *power*, and the like; it is not for the common *vulgars* to ſteale *fire* out of Heaven, to *ſearch out* the reaſons, and to *prie* into the cauſes and all the actions of their ſuperiours: but as the *maxime* of all wiſe men is, *curabit prælia* Conon, let the ſecrets of the Prince be to the Prince; and as the *Medes* ſaid to *Deioces*, when they choſe him to be their King, do thou what *thou wilt* about the *government* of us; both in *war* and *peace*, and we will obey thy commands and follow our *husbandry*, our trades, and our occaſions; and as the *Jewes* likewiſe ſaid to *Joſhua*, *All that thou commandeſt us we will do, and whitherſoever thou ſendeſt us we will go, and whoſoever he be that doth rebel againſt thy commandment in all that thou commandeſt him, he ſhall be put to death*: ſo ſhould we and all other people, *ſtudy to be quiet*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, and to follow their *vocation*, and to learn *obedience*, which is better then *ſacrifice*, and never to be ſo curious and *cenſorious*, as to *prie* into the ſecrets, and to condemn the actions of their Governours, but rather with the *Cherubims*, and theſe *Beaſts* to cover their *faces with two of their wings*. *Joſh.* 1. 16.

And as they ought to do *this* about the ſecrets of *State*, ſo they ſhould do the *like* about the *Church* affairs, which they ſhould leave to *Aaron* and the *Prieſts* to diſpoſe of, and not with the men of *Beth-ſhemeſh* to prie into the *Arke* of

The Church affairs ought to be left to the diſpoſal of *Aaron* and the Prieſts.

1 Sam. 6. 19. *of the Lord:* leſt they ſuffer as they did, when the Lord ſmote *fifty thouſand, threeſcore and ten men* for their *curioſity* in prying into the *ſecrets* of the Church. For what have *Laymen* to do with the ordering of *holy things*, that the Lord God hath committed unto the *Prieſts? Ne Sutor ultra crepidam.* ſaid *Apelles*

The Shoemaker muſt not touch the thigh
Unleſs his art doth reach ſo high,

And will they order things in the *Church* of God, that have ſo much *diſorder* in their own houſe, and can not tell how to *mend* it: therefore they ought rather to *hide their faces with two of their wings*, then to prie into the Government of the Church.

For as I told you even now, that the *Government* of the Common-wealth was a matter of *great moment*, and to be borne upon the *ſhoulders*, which are the *beſt able* to bear it: ſo the *Arke* of God, wherein all the *Government* of the Church was included, was to be carried *upon the ſhoulders of the Levites*, 1 *Chron.* 15.15. To ſhew that this Government of the *Church* is no wayes of *leſs moment*, then the Government of the *civil State*.

1 Chron. 15. 15.

1 Chron. 13. 10.

Therefore when this *Arke* was put, not upon the ſhoulders of the *Prieſts*, according to the firſt inſtitution, but to be carried upon a *new cart*, the Lord made *a breach* upon his people, and ſmote *Uzza* that he died; and ſo they may well fear the *anger* of the Lord will be *kindled* againſt thoſe that take this *Arke* of God from the ſhoulders of the *Prieſts*, and put it, as it was of late, into the hands of *thoſe* that had nothing to do with it.

Numbers 4. 15.

2. Why they covered their feet.

Secondly, As the *Cherubims* and theſe *Beaſts* did cover their *faces* with two of their wings, to check our *curioſity*, becauſe we are not *able*, and therefore ought not to *prie* into ſecret myſteries: ſo they covered *their feet with two of their wings*, to ſhew our *miſery*, becauſe we have *defiled* our ſelves and *fouled* our *feet* by our walking in the wicked wayes and the *dirty pathes* of ſin and iniquity. And ſo we are no wayes

wayes able to ſtand and to *juſtifie* our ſelves in the ſight of God: for we are all become *abominable*, and there is none *that doth good, no not one*, But in all men there is *corruption*, in the beſt men there is *defection*, and in the Angels *unfaithfulneſs* hath been found.

What the beſt of all our actions are.

And therefore God hath ſhut up all *in unbelief*, that every mouth ſhould be *ſtopped*, and all the world *culpable* before God; for if you looke into *the beſt* of all our actions, and the *choiceſt* wayes that we walk in, you ſhall find that the *righteouſneſs* which we have by *nature*, is but *juſtitia Gentilium, ſplendida peccata*, as Saint *Auguſtine* calls them: or the *wiſedome* of the *fleſh*, not ſanctified by faith, as Saint *Paul* calls it. The *righteouſneſs* that we have by the *Law* is but *juſtitia Phariſaorum*, which as Saint *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, was *in oſtentatione non in rectitudine intentionis, in locutione non in opere, in corporis afflictione non in mandatorum obſervatione*, and ſo it was but *ſcoria obducta*, ſin guilded and *unprofitable*, becauſe never perfectly perſormed, no not by the *ſtricteſt* Phariſee. And the *righteouſneſs* which we have by *grace*, is but *juſticia viatorum*, inchoated and *imperfect*, and at the beſt but as *menſtruous cloaths* full of ſtaines; but *Jehova juſtitia noſtra*, the Lord is *that righteouſneſs* which muſt ſave us.

And therefore we ſhould never *exalt* our ſelves with high conceits of our *own worth*, like the *proud Phariſee*; but rather fall down upon our knees with the *humble Publican*, and ſay, Lord *be merciful unto me a ſinner*: and to cry out with the Prodigal Child, *we have ſinned againſt Heaven and againſt thee, and we are no more worthy to be called thy Sons*. For if God ſhould enter into judgement, and be *extream* to mark what we do amiſs, *O Lord, who could abide it?* For no fleſh living could be *juſtified*. And therefore we ſhould not ſtand to *juſtifie* our ſelves and our *wayes* before God, but rather with theſe *Beaſts* and thoſe *holy Cherubims* to cover our *feet with two of their wings*.

That we ought not to hide and cover our ſins.

But by this *covering* of our *feet*, we muſt not underſtand the *hiding* and covering of our *ſins*, as moſt of us uſe to do; for *Solomon* tells you plainly that he *which hideth his ſins ſhall*

not

Prov. 28. 13. *not proſper*, but who ſo *confeſſeth and forſaketh them ſhall have mercy*; and Saint *John* ſaith *if we ſay we have no ſin we deceive our ſelves and the truth is not in us*: but if *we confeſſe our ſins, he is faithful and juſt to forgive us our ſins, and to cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſs.*

1 John 1. 8.

And therefore though we ought to *cover our feet*, that is, not to *juſtifie* our wayes before God: yet we muſt not *cover our ſins*, but confeſs them with an *humble, lowly, penitent and obedient heart*, if ever we look to obtain *forgiveneſs* of the ſame.

3. Why they did flie.

2. As they covered their *feet* with two of their wings, ſo with the *other two wings* they did *flie*; and that was to ſhew the *readineſs* of their obedience to do the *ſervice* of God, and to teach all others to be *induſtrious* and diligent to do their duties: for here you ſee the *Cherubims*, and theſe holy *Evangeliſts* do not onely *go* or run, but *flie* very *ſwiftly* to do the work of God, and to execute his will; and therefore the Prophet ſaith, *he rode upon Cherub and did flie, he came flying upon the wings of the winde*, that is, his Meſſengers, that he ſent to perform his commands, were as ready and as *ſwift* as the winde. He needed no more but ſay to this man *go* and *he goeth*, and to another *come* and he *cometh*, and ſaith, *in me mora non erit ulla*, as *Curio* ſaid unto *Cæſar*.

How ready and diligent we ſhould be to do the works of God.

Lucan. Pharſ. lib. 1.

So we ſhould all be *ſwift* to hear, and *diligent* to do our duties; not lazily to go about them, like the *Snaile*, of whom the Poets fain, that when *Jupiter* invited his Creatures unto his Feaſt, the Snail came laſt of all, which admoniſheth us, ſaith *Aleiat.*

——*Sectanda gradu convivia tardo,*

To come *ſlowly* to revellings and pleaſures, but to the *Lords Table*, and to other *holy exerciſes* we ſhould not be like the *Snail*, or the ſluggard that crieth, *yet a little ſleep, a little ſlumber, a little folding of the hands to ſleep*, but we ſhould go *nimbly* like thoſe that have *wings* to flie to do their buſineſs, becauſe as Saint *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, *ſicut in unoquoque mater*

eſt

eſt diligentia, ita univerſa doctrina & diſciplina noverca eſt negligentia: diligence is the *mother* of every good act, and ſloth or negligence is the *ſtep-mother* or fetters that *entangle* and choak all learning and diſcipline.

Sloth and negligence the hinderance of all good things.

And as we ought to uſe *diligence* in all that we take in hand; ſo we ought more ſpecially to uſe it in the *ſervice* of God, and to go to our Saviour Chriſt, that bids his *Church* and every *member* of his Church *to make haſt*, or to *flie away*, as the original word imports, and to be like *to a Roe, or to a young Hart upon the mountaines of ſpices*, where ſhe runneth and *skippeth* for very *haſte* to get away: ſo *Abraham* made *haſte* to make *proviſion* for the Angels that came unto him; and ſo *David* ſaith, *O God, thou art my God, early will I ſeek thee:* and ſo the women that ſought Chriſt *came early, while it was yet dark*, unto the Sepulchre. *Cantic.* 8. 14.

And ſo all *worldlings* are diligent enough, and have *wings* like *Pegaſus* to flie about the affairs of this world,

—— *Currit mercator ad Indos:*

The Merchant runs to get Commodities unto the *Indians*, and the *Oppreſſours* are moſt *greedy* to rob both God and man, and the *malicious* man hath his feet *ſwift to ſhed blood*, and the *Fanatick ſchiſmatick* flieth about, and compaſſeth *Sea and Land* to make a Proſelyte; and yet we that profeſſe to journey towards *Heaven*, do walk as it were upon *leaden feet.*

For you may ſee the *Citizens* of this World, how diligent they are and ſpare *no coſt* to repair and beautifie their *own houſes* in the faireſt manner; and how *ſlow* they are, and how *backward* to do any thing to ſet up the *houſes of God* upon their feet. But are like *the Dog* in the manger, that will neither *eate hay* himſelf, nor *ſuffer* the Oxe to eate it; ſo they will neither *raiſe* the Church themſelves, nor *ſuffer* thoſe that would, to injoy the *Revennes* of the Church to *raiſe* the ſame. 1 *Chron.* 29. 1, 2, 3.

But you know how *heavily* the Lord complaineth of thoſe that dwell *in ſieled houſes* themſelves, and ſuffer the *houſe of* *Hag.* 1. 4.

God to lie waſte; and that uſe their *wings* to flie about their own *worldly* affairs, and have ſcarce *any feet* to walk in Gods wayes.

How diligent the worldlings are about their own affairs.

And therefore our Saviour tels us, that the children of this World are *wiſer in their generation then the children of light*; becauſe they omit *no opportunity* to gain their *wicked ends*; and we neglect all the furtherances that may *help* us forward to the Kingdome of Heaven.

For ſo you ſee how *Judas* watched and walked unto the High Prieſts, and from the *High Prieſts* to the *Garden*, and from the *Garden* to the High Prieſts again, and from the High-Prieſts to the *gallowes*, and moſt of this while Saint *Peter* and the reſt of the Diſciples ſlumbered and ſlept.

But the reaſon why we are ſo *ſlow* in our *flight* towards heaven, is, becauſe our wings that ſhould carry us, are *birdlim'd* and entangled with abundance of cares about worldly wealth, or *drowned* in the vain delights of ſinful pleaſures, or *preſſed* down with the weight of thoſe vanities, whereof the leaſt is *heavy enough* to ſink a ſhip; that being *burdened* with ſuch hinderances, and hindered with ſuch burdens, we cannot ſerve God with that *readineſs* as we ought to do. For is it not *ſtrange* to conſider, how many mens *hearts* are filled with the *cares* of this World, and their *heads* loaded with a world of vanities? and how ſhould they *fly* about Gods ſervice, that are thus *fettered* with ſuch obſtacles?

What hindereth our readineſs to ſerve God, and our diligence in his ſervice.

And therefore, as we ſee the *birds* that flie, will carry no more *weight* upon their backs, but what neceſſity doth require: And as the runners of a race, will eaſe themſelves of all *heavy burdens*; ſo we being to flie up to Heaven, and to run our *race* towards the ſpiritual *Canaan*, ſhould caſt away both *deliciarum putredinem & curarum magnitudinem*, our worldly *cares* and our ſinful delights, and all other things that may *hinder* us to run *readily* to do the Lords ſervice, and to flie with the *Cherubims* and theſe *Beaſts*, about the Lords affairs.

Which if we do, we ſhall be crowned not with a *garland* of flowers, as the *Romans* uſed, but with a crown of *eternal glory*,

glory, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh. And if this cannot allure us to be *ready* and diligent in Gods ſervice, but ſtill to load our ſelves with the *garbages* of the earth, then I muſt turn from the Apoſtles *promiſe* to the Prophets *threatning*, and ſay, *Curſed ſhall all thoſe be that do the work of the Lord negligently*: curſed in *this life*, and curſed in the life to come, curſed for *a time*, and curſed for *ever*. *Jerem.* 48. 10.

And therefore if we deſire to avoid this *curſe*, let us with theſe *beaſts* uſe two of our wings to *flie* about the ſervice of God with all *readineſs*, and rather ſtrive to be the *firſt* in the Church of God then the *laſt*; for ſo we ſhall gain the bleſſing for ever. And ſo much for the wings of theſe *beaſts*, and the *uſe* that they made of them.

2. You muſt obſerve about the next part of their generall deſcription (which is common to each one of them) that they are ſaid, 2 The next part of their deſcription is, that they were full of eyes.

{ Firſt, To be full of eyes. And
{ Secondly, More particularly, that they were full of eyes.

{ 1. Within. v. 8.
{ 2. Before. } v. 6.
{ 3. Behind. }

For ſo it is in the 6. v. that they were full of *eyes before and behind*, and here in this verſe, that they were *full of eyes within*.

Firſt then you ſee, that they were *full of eyes*, which ſheweth their *illumination*, that they could ſee like *Argos* every way; and our Saviour ſaith, that *the light of the body is the eye*; and thoſe *beaſts* being full of *eyes*, they are *rightly* ſaid to be the *light of the World*. *Matth.* 6, 22 *c.* 5. 14.

And here I might *Philoſophically* dilate unto you the *nature*, *quality*, and *excellency* of this little part of the body, which is, *the eye*, and the *ineſtimable* benefit of our ſight, which is the *chiefeſt* of all the five ſences, but to explain all theſe, my *time* will not permit me.

And therefore I will onely ſay, that as theſe *beaſts* were full of *eyes*, to ſee *all things* and to *enlighten* all others: ſo ſhould *all Chriſtians* be like unto them, *full of eyes*; and eſpecially,

1 All *Magiſtrates.*
2 All *Miniſters.*

1 That all the Magiſtrates and Miniſters of juſtice ſhould be full of eyes.

All the *Magiſtrates* and all the *Judges* of the earth ſhould be *full of eyes*; becauſe they are not onely to look unto *themſelves*, and to ſee to their own ways, but they are alſo to *guide* and to lead *many others*. And if they be *blind*, & yet undertake to *lead the blind*, the blind Magiſtrates to lead the blind people, *they both ſhall fall into the ditch*, as of late amongſt us both have done; becauſe both wanted *their eyes*, and ſo both were blind, and he is blind, ſaith Saint *Chryſoſtom*, that hath not both *his eyes* in his head.

And theſe *two eyes* in a Magiſtrate and a Judge are,

What are the two eyes of the Magiſtrate.

1. The eye of *Knowledge* and underſtanding of the Law, and of all caſes and cauſes that ſhall come before them.
2. The eye of *doing juſtice* and executing judgement according to the truth and merit of every cauſe.

1 The eye of knowledg and underſtanding the truth of the cauſe that is brought before them in every circumſtance thereof.

And for the firſt point, the *underſtanding* of all things aright, *one eye* will ſcarce ſerve the turn; but they muſt be like theſe beaſts *full of eyes*: one eye to look to the Complainants charge, another to mark the *Defendants* anſwer, and another to obſerve the quircks and ſubtleties of the Pleaders: and all this they muſt behold and ſee, not without a great deal of *patience*, and a great deal of *circumſpection*; for as *Seneca* ſaith. *Qui parte judicat inaudita altera, æquum licet ſtatuerit, ipſe haud æquus eſt.*

And therefore though the crie of *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* was great,

great, and their ſin very *grievous*; yet the Lord would not *deſtroy* them, but he ſaith, *I will go down now and ſee whether they have done according to the cry of it: and if not, I will know.* Gen. 18. 21. So there is another cry amongſt us, that the power and priviledge of Parliament doth many ways wrong men, and againſt many *poor* men ſtop the current of *juſtice*. It were well to do as God did, to ſee whether it be altogether according to the *cry* of it; for you may be ſure, that priviledge is *accurſed*, and woe be to that power that maintains *wrong*, and ſtops *juſtice*: and it will be a great deal more for your honour to lay aſide that power, and to ſuppreſs ſuch a priviledge then to ſupport it. And I think *few* but ſuch as *never* were in power afore would uſe it.

So when the report came, that the men of any City became *Idolatrous* and the ſeducers of the people to idolatry, as now our *Anabaptiſts* and *Quakers* withdraw their neighbours to their *faction* and *rebellion*, the Lord ſaith, *then ſhalt thou enquire, and make ſearch, ask diligently and behold if it be truth, and the thing certain, that ſuch abomination is wrought*: Then for the ſecond point, *If thou findeſt it true, that thou ſeeſt they have done it, thou ſhalt ſurely ſmite the inhabitants of that City with the edge of the ſword, and deſtroy it utterly.* For, Deut. 13. 14. V. 15.

2 when with theſe eyes they do ſee the offence, they ſhould not let the offender eſcape, *quia impunitas delicti invitat homines ad malignandum*, becauſe the leaving of ſin unpuniſhed is the chiefeſt encouragement to invite *other men* to ſin; for by favouring *one*, you hearten *many*: and as Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Illicita non prohibere conſenſus erroris eſt*, not to reſtrain ſin when you ſee it, is to maintain ſin in them that do it; and he that *ſuffereth* it, which ſhould hinder it, is as *culpable* as he that commits it. And *Solomon* ſaith, He that *juſtifieth the wicked*, or ſaith unto him, *thou art righteous*, and ſo let him go *unpuniſhed*, and *quaſheth* all that ſhall be *proved* againſt him, *him ſhall the people curſe, and Nations ſhall abhor him*; and ſuch a Judge deſerveth *very well* to be accurſed. Prov. 24. 24.

2 The eye of doing juſtice, that offences ſhould not be ſuffered to go unpuniſhed. Aug. *Epiſt.* 182. *ad Bonifac.*

And it is moſt *certain*, that the ſuffering of oppreſſors, intruders, and the like malefactors to paſs away *unpuniſhed*, will

will bring the *curſe of God* upon any Nation, and eſpecially upon *them* that ſhould hinder it and *will not do it*. For, *nil doctores niſi ductores*, the Miniſters of *mercy* can do no good though we preach never *ſo well*, except the Miniſters of *Juſtice* will *maintain* that good, becauſe we can but forbid the corruption of the *heart*, and they muſt prohibit the wickedneſs of the *hand*; when as we onely have the words of *exhortation*, and they onely have the ſword of *correction*.

And therefore ſeeing the eye of *Juſtice* ſhould not *wink* and connive with the *tranſgreſſors*, the falſe-hearted ſubjects and traytors, the oppreſſours and plunderers of their brethren, be they of what *Nation* you will, Jew or Gentile, and of what *condition* you will, high or low, which might think it *favour enough* to have their wickedneſs *pardoned*, though they be not *honoured* and magnified, when the ſame deſerves rather to be *ſeverely* puniſhed, then any wayes to be *connived* at; but I will paſs from *this point*, that is too hot to be held *long* in my hand. And yet I muſt tell you that this ſhould no ways countenance the *condemning* of any man that is *innocent*; for the Scripture is very *plain*, that *juſtum & innocentem non condemnabis*, neither is it any *juſtice* to puniſh *Mephiboſheth* for *Ziba's* fault, but as every horſe ſhould bear his *own burthen*, ſo ſhould *every man* ſuffer for his *own faults*: ſo let the rebels that were murderers and traytours ſuffer and ſpare them not, but let the innocent go free.

2. I ſay, that as the *Magiſtrates* and *Judges* ſhould be like theſe *Beaſts*, full of *eyes*; ſo ſhould the *Miniſters* and Preachers of Gods word be likewiſe *full of eyes*: For otherwiſe it were to *no purpoſe* either for the *Judge* and the *Magiſtrate*, or for the *Preacher* and Miniſter to be like *Lions*, full of *courage*, unleſs they were alſo full of *eyes*, and their eyes ſhould be *ſharp* and quick-ſighted like the *Eagles eyes*: for the *blind Lion* may ſoon fall into the *ſnare* or *ditch*, and then his *ſtrength* and courage will availe him nothing. And therefore as well the *Miniſter* as the *Magiſtrate* ſhould be like unto theſe Beaſts, *full of eyes*, and eſpecially to have two eyes at the leaſt.

1. The

§1. The one of *famous learning* and knowledg. And,
§2. The other of a *blameleſs life* and converſation.

2. That the Miniſters and Preachers ſhould be full of eyes.

And if the Miniſter wanteth *either* of theſe, he is but *monoculus*, an one-ey'd Prieſt, not fit by the *Law of God* to ſerve at Gods *Altar*, that would have his Prieſts *without blemiſh*.

1. The eye of Learning. The eye often ſignifies the underſtanding.

1. The *Prieſts lips ſhould preſerve knowledge*; *and the eye* by the *idiome* and cuſtomary phraſe of the Hebrewes is often put for the *whole minde* and underſtanding of a man, *quia oculi ſunt præcipui mentis indices*, becauſe the *eye* is the moſt *principal* index and declarer of the minde; ſo *impudicus oculus impudici cordis eſt nuntius*, an unchaſt eye is the witneſs of an unchaſt heart, ſaith St. *Hierom*, and a *pitifull eye* is the teſtimony of a good *mercifull* man.

Therefore the *eye* put for the minde and ſignifying the *underſtanding*, the Miniſters that ought to be *full of eyes*, ought to be full of *knowledge* and underſtanding; for if they *want* knowledge, how ſhall the people get the *knowledge* of Gods Lawes from them that know *nothing* themſelves? The people muſt needs *periſh*, and they ſhall be *liable* for their deſtruction; for when they periſh through the Preachers fault, *I will require their blood* at the Preachers hand, ſaith the Lord. And therefore thoſe *Miniſters* that have taken upon them the charge of *ſouls*, and do either want the eye of *learning* and the light of *underſtanding*, or elſe keep it in *themſelves* like the fire that is in the *flint ſtone*, and warmes no man, or the candle that is put *under a buſhel*, and lights no part of the houſe, are in a *fearfull* caſe, becauſe that as our Saviour ſaith, *when the ſalt hath loſt his ſavour, it is thenceforth good for nothing but to be caſt out and to be trodden under foot*; ſo when the crier hath loſt his *voice* by being choaked with *junkates*, and the watchman hath loſt his *eyes* by too much ſweating after worldly *wealth*, and the Miniſter cannot *preach* either through *ignorance* or *negligence*, they are thenceforth good *for nothing* but to be *caſt out* and thrown into the *bottomleſs pit*. But,

Ezech. 3. 20.

Matth. 5. 13.

The deſperate condition of ignorant and negligent Miniſters.

2. The eye of a blameleſs life.

2. As the Miniſters of Chriſt ſhould have the *quick ſight-*

ed

ed eye of learning and knowledge, so they should have the *clear eye* of a blameless life and *conversation*, otherwise as *Penelope* to delude her *woers*, is said to *untwist* in the night what she *spun* in the day: so by the darkness of their *evil life*, they pull *down* all that they built by the *light* of their preaching.

Exod. 20. 26. The Lord saith, that *the Priest shall not go up by steps unto his Altar*, that *his nakedness be not discovered thereon*: and Saint *Bernard* saith, there are four things *necessary* for every Priest *ne quid nnditatis appareat*, that his *nakedness* may not appear. And they are,

Four things necessary for every Priest. 1. *Capiti velamentum*, a vaile for his *head*; and that is *prudent discretion* which covereth all his *folly* and imbecillity, and is not onely a *virtue* but the guider and *moderatrix* of all vertues.

2. *Corpori vestimentum*, a garment for the *body*; and that is *fervent devotion*, because it is the *office* and duty of the Minister to pray *for all*;

1. For the *good men*, that they may *continue good* and not fall.
2. For the *evil men*, that they may *rise* from their fall.

And *prayer* without *devotion*, is like the body without a soul.

3. *Manibus munimentum*, a covering for the *hands*, and that is *good works*; because that as our works are *strengthned* through our prayers, so our *prayers* are *available* through our works, saith Saint *Jerome*.

Hieron. in Lamen. c. 3.

4. *Pedibus fulcimentum*, propps and shoes or sandals for the *feet*; and that is a pure and an *upright life* and conversation, because bad Ministers do not *dispensare* but *dissipare bona Domini*, and rather *dishonour* then *honour* their Lord and Master Christ: And therefore the Heathen Priests at their *sacrifical* solemnities, were wont to say,

Innocui

Innocui veniant, procul hinc, procul impius eſto;
Caſta placent ſuperis, pura cum mente venite.

And as the *Magiſtrates* and *Miniſters* ſhould be *full of eyes*, ſo all *Chriſtians* in like manner ſhould be *full of eyes*, to look unto *themſelves* and to their *wayes*; for though, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, *they were once darkneſs*, while God *winked* at the time of their ignorance: yet now *they are light in the Lord*, even as the Prophet ſhewed they ſhould be, *The people that walked in darkneſs have ſeen great light, and they that dwell in the Land of the ſhadow of death, upon them hath the light ſhined*, becauſe it cannot be denied but that as *Daniel* ſaith, *knowledge is increaſed*, and as our Saviour ſaith, *light is come into the world*. That all good Chriſtians ſhould be full of eyes. *Eſay.* 9. 2

And therefore the people ſhould *take heed* that they love not *darkneſs more then light*, or that they be not like the fool *Harpaſte* that was *as blind as a beetle*, and yet would not be perſwaded, as *Seneca* ſaith, that ſhe was *blinde* but that the *room was dark*. For I fear that we have *too many* men that think they want *no eyes*, but that the *houſe of God is dark* and wants light; but that is becauſe they are *bleere-ey'd* like *Leah*, and look a *ſquint* and cannot ſee the *truth*.

There be *many* others that are *full of eyes*, but their eyes are *oculi nequam* evil eyes, ſuch as Saint *Peter* ſpeaks of; and others have eyes *far worſe*. My time will not give me leave to diſcover them. Many are full of eyes, yet not like theſe beaſts, but of all evil eyes.

But if the Lord ſhould ſay unto me, as he ſaid to his Prophet *Amos*, *what ſeeſt thou*: I muſt anſwer, I dare not tell what I ſee: and if the Lord replies, ſhould they that are to be like *Lions* become as fearfull as the *Hares*, that run away from the *noiſe* of the Hounds? Have I not often delivered thee as I did *Eliſha* after he had delivered his meſſage unto *Jehu*, when he *preſently ſhut the door and fled*? therefore I command thee to tell me, what ſeeſt thou. *Amos.* 8. 2. 2 *Reg.* 9. 3 & v. 10.

Why then, if *thou commandeſt* me, I muſt tell; and I muſt ſay with the Prophet, that *I have ſeen unrighteouſneſs and*

ſtrife in the City; moreover I ſaw the place of *judgment*, and
Eccleſ 3 16. *wickedneſs was there*; and the place of *righteouſneſs, and iniqui-*
quity was there. and I ſaw *the tears of ſuch as were oppreſſed,*
c. 4. 1. *and they had no comfort becauſe power was on the ſide of their op-*
preſſours. And worſe then the parable of *Menenius Agrippa*, when all the members conſpired againſt the ſtomach, I have ſeen a monſtrous *ill-ſhap'd body* cutting off his own moſt *excellent* and *unreprovable head*; and the *worſt* Parliament that ever *England* ſaw, rebelling and warring, and doing far worſe to the *beſt King* that ever *England* had. And I have ſeen the *Commons-houſe* of that Parliament encroaching by little and little upon the *rights* and priviledges of the Lords, as the *Plebeians* did upon the *nobility* of *Rome*, till at laſt they had quite *ſupplanted* them: *felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum*, I hope, O Lord, that I ſhall never ſee the *like again*.

Yet I ſee *one thing more* that troubles me *much*, many men that ſay (excepting the conſcience of their *religion*, that ſhould not undo them) they are *innocent* from any offence done either againſt *their King* or againſt their *neighbors*, and yet to be driven out of houſe and home, and thoſe that were known to be *rebels* & to have *fought* againſt their King to enjoy their *Lands* and *Livings*, and to become *great men*, and to hold in their *fingers* the Lands of *Innocents*, of the King, of the Church, and of God himſelf, which can as *hardly* be pluck'd out of their fingers, as it was to pluck the *club* out of *Hercules's* hands; for they have got *poſſeſſion* of them, and poſſeſſion being as they ſay *eleven points* of the Law, *twelve furies* cannot *diſpoſſeſs* them.

But for the trial of the *truth* hereof, his Majeſty hath *moſt graciouſly* appointed, and his Grace here doth moſt *favourably* countenance theſe *wiſe* and *religious* men that ſhall *juſtly* and *religiouſly* determine theſe things. And I am *confident* that being *wiſe men* as they are, they will ſhew themſelves men of *courage*, bold as the *Lion* to do *juſtly*, and to ſtand for the *right Intereſt*, be it of the Jew or of the Gentile, without fear of the *greateſt*, and not caring what the *meaneſt* or the vulgar ſay of them; *quia nec meliores ſi laudaverint, nec*

deteriores

deteriores ſi vituperaverint, becauſe their praiſe makes them never a whit the *better* if they do unjuſtly, nor their diſpraiſe one jot the *worſe* when they do *right*, which is the onely thing that all men ought to do without fear. And by their *juſt* and unpartial dealing betwixt party and party, I doubt not but they will as they have *hitherto*, ſhew themſelves to be *full of eyes* to ſee to *every thing*, to ſearch into every *cauſe*, and to find out the *truth* of every *matter* and every *charge* that ſhall be brought before them.

THE THIRD SERMON.

REVEL. 4. 8.

And the four Beaſts had each of them ſix wings about them, and they were full of eyes within, &c.

2. AFTER that they are ſaid to be *full of eyes*, the Evangeliſt tells us more *particularly* that they were full of eyes *within*; and in the precedent 6. *v.* it is ſaid, that they were full of eyes *before and behinde*, ſo they were 1. The diſtribution of their eyes. *v.* 6.

Full of eyes, { 1. *Within.* 2. *Before.* 3. *Behinde.*

1. They were full of eyes *within*, and that was to look into their *own hearts* and conſciences, for *the heart of man is deceitfull* 1. Why theſe beaſts were full of eyes within. *Jer.* 17. 9.

ceitfull above all things: It is but a *little* member, *vix ad unius milvi refectionem ſufficere poſſit*, ſcarce ſufficient to ſerve one Kite for his break-faſt; and yet as *Hugo* ſaith, *magna cupit, & totus mundus ei non ſufficit*, it affecteth great things, and as *Juvenal* ſaith of *Alexander*, the whole World will not ſuffice that *Pellæan* youth.

Hugo l. 3. de anima.

And it is very true, that *In omni creatura, quæ ſub ſole vanitatibus mundanis occupatur, nihil humano corde ſublimius, nihil nobilius, nihilque Deo ſimilius reperitur; quapropter nihil aliud quærit à te Deus niſi cor tuum.* In all the creature which under the ſun is occupied in theſe worldly vanities, there is nothing more *ſublime* then mans heart, nothing more *noble*, and nothing more *like to God* himſelf; and therefore God requireth *nothing* of thee but thy heart, when he ſaith,

Pro. 23. 26. *My ſon, give me thy heart.*

But then the heart muſt be *pure* and ſincere, free from all *vanities*, and void of all *iniquity*; for otherwiſe, *qui de ſua partem faciunt Deo, & partem diabolo, iratus Deus quia ſit ibi pars diabolo, diſcedit, & totum diabolus poſſidet*; They that give *part* of their hearts to God, and *part* to the Devil, God being *angry* that any part is left for the Devil, departeth and leaveth all unto the Devil, as St. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh.

S. Aug. in Johan.

And therefore the Scripture ſaith *bleſſed are the pure in heart*, for they ſhall ſee God; *quia Deus non exterioribus oculis ſed puro corde videtur*, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, becauſe God is not ſeen with our outward eyes, but with a pure and upright heart. But *Væ duplici corde*, woe to him that hath *a double heart*, which ſaith *one thing* with his tongue, and thinks *otherwiſe* in his heart; and woe to him that hath a *wicked heart*, which ſpeaketh *friendly* unto his neighbour, but *meaneth miſchief* in his heart; and woe to him indeed, which hath a *hard heart*, which as St *Bernard* ſaith, *nec compunctione ſcinditur, nec pietate mollitur, nec precibus movetur*, which is neither broken with *compunction*, nor mollified with *piety*, nor moved with *prayers*, nor terrified with *threatnings*, nor yet yielding with any *judgements*: but is unthankfull for all *benefits*, regardleſs of all *counſell*, and ſenſeleſs of all *dangers*, and ſo ſtill

Matth. 5. 8.

Duod ingratum eſt ad beneficia, infidum ad conſilia, ſævum ad judicia, invereundum ad turpia & impavidum ad pericula. Bernard l. 5. de conſiderat.

ſtill growing *worſe* and *worſe*, untill like *Pharaoh*, he be quite deſtroyed.

And yet how *many* men have we that are *double* hearted ard *falſe hearted*, and more *deceitfull* then the wilie *Greeks* that lurked in the belly of the *Trojan* Horſe, or the ſubtle Serpent that beguiled *Eve*? And that which is worſt of all, which do deceive and betray their *own ſouls*? For as of all murders *felo de ſe* is moſt impardonable, ſo of all deceits, he that deceives his *own ſoul* is moſt deſperate, and in the moſt *wofull* condition. And yet as *Apollodorus* the tyrant dreamed that he was taken and flead by the *Scythians*, and his heart thrown into a boyling Caldron, ſhould ſay unto him, *I am the cauſe of all this my ſelf*, becauſe I have deceived thee in all thy wayes, and in all thy plots and projects: ſo how many ſimple, fooliſh, and beguiled ſouls are in the world, that in all their *wicked plots* and practices, and in all their *covetous deſigns* and mercyleſs oppreſſions of the poor, do beguile *themſelves* and betray their *ſouls* unto the Devil? When, as our Saviour ſaith, they ſhall put his ſervants *out of the Synagogues*, out of their places and offices, as they have done of late, and out of their means and maintenance, as you do ſtill amongſt us, and ſhall *kill them* and put them to death, and think that *they doe God good ſervice*, and believe that they have the *Eagles* wings to mount up the readyeſt way to Heaven, when as indeed they ride Poſt upon *Pegaſus* the broad way to Hell. *John*, 16. 2.

And therefore, ſeeing the *heart* of man is ſo *deceitful*, as many times to perſwade him he holds God by the *hand*, when the Devil hath him faſt fettered by the *heeles*, it is requiſite that we ſhould be like theſe Beaſts *full of eyes within*, to look into our *own hearts*, that they do not *deceive us*, and to examine our *own wayes*, that we be not *miſtaken* in them; leſt, while we aim to go to *Jeruſalem* the City of God, we ſhall with the Army of the King of *Syria*, that he ſent to *Dothan* to fetch *Eliſha*, be carryed blindefold into the midſt of *Samaria*, the City of our greateſt Enemy; for ſo the Prophet *David* ſaith, he did *commune with his own heart*, and *his ſpirit made* 2 *Reg.* 6. 19. *Pſ.* 77. 6.

made a diligent search, that is, into his actions, lest his *own heart* should deceive him: and so he adviseth us to doe the
Ps. 4. 4. like, saying, *Stand in awe and sin not, commune with your own heart*, that is, to examine *diligently*, whether the *things* that you doe be *sins* or not: and do not trust the *suggestions* and suppositions of your hearts, until you make a *search*, and a diligent inquisition into the true *nature* of them, because many men do think, they doe *not sin* at all, when they doe *most highly offend the Lord.*

Why men deceive themselves. And the *reason* is, because they have no eyes *within*, to look into their *own hearts*, and to examine their own actions; but they are onely full of eyes *without*, to pry into the *doings*, and to censure all the *acts* of all others, which is the *humour* of them, that take delight to spy out the least *mote* that they see in the eyes of others, but never look into the *beam* that is in their own eyes, those *horrible sins* that lurk in their *own hearts.*

And this multiplicity of eyes *without*, and the want of all eyes *within*, when those that should be within are turned out, is the *cause* that there are so many *reformers* of our Church, and *censurers* of our State, *Etiam opifices quorum res fidesque in manibus sitæ sunt*, Yea, that even meer *Mechanicks*, Handicrafts-men, and Ploughmen, whose credit, wealth, and wit lyes in their hands, as *Salust* speaks of the seditious *Plebeians* of *Rome*, do so *impudently* prate and censure the *Government* both of the Church and Common-wealth.

But as our Saviour said to St. *Peter*, when he would needs know what should become of St. *John*, *Quid ad te?* What is that to thee? Do thou follow me: so I say to these men, *Quid ad vos?* What have you to doe with the *mysteries* of State, or the *matters* of the Church? It becomes you to doe
1 *Thes.* 4. 11. as the Apostle adviseth you, *To study to be quiet, and to meddle with your own business*; and, as my Text saith, to be *full of eyes within*, to look unto your own actions, and not *immittere falcem in alienam messem*, and to do as many Gentlemen use to do, that is, to travel over *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, to understand the *customs* and *fashions* of other Countryes,

and

and to be altogether *ignorant* of the Lawes, cuſtoms, and conditions of their own Country. But,

2. Theſe Beaſts are not onely ſaid to be full of eyes *within*, but in the ſixth verſe they are alſo ſaid to be full of eyes *before and behinde*. And that was to this end. 2. Why theſe beaſts were full o eyes behind.

1. They were full of eyes *behinde*, to look *backward*, and to behold the times and things that are paſt.

2. They were full of eyes *before*.

1. To conſider the times and things that are preſent.
2. To foreſee the things, and to provide for the times that are to come.

And *Moſes*, the man of God, that was faithful in all God's houſe, thought that this *threefold ſight* and conſideration of the times *paſt*, *preſent*, and *to come*, would ſurely make the children of *Iſrael* to fear *the Lord their God*, and to walk in his wayes; or if theſe things would not do it, he knew nothing in the world that could do it: and therefore a little before his death, in his *laſt farewell*, and in the chiefeſt and moſt *affectionate* Sermon that ever he made unto this people, this is the *chiefeſt wiſh* that ever I found expreſt therein, *O utinam ſaperent & intelligerent, ac noviſſima providerent*! O that they were *wiſe*, that they underſtood *this*, that they would conſider their *latter end*! that is, *Utinam ſaperent præterita, intelligerent præſentia, & providerent futura*, I would to God, that this people did remember and call to minde the things *that are paſt*, that they underſtood the things *that are preſent*, and that they would conſider the things *that are to come*, and ſhall inevitably fall upon them. Deut. 32. 29.

And as *Moſes*, ſo do I wiſh to Almighty God, that all and every one that heareth me this day, would do as *Moſes* here *deſireth*, and would be, as theſe Beaſts are here *deſcribed*, that they might do what is here *required*. And that is,

1. To be full of eyes *behinde*, to behold the times, and to conſider the things *that are paſt*; for the *want* of this ſight and conſideration is a *main cauſe* of ſo much *wickedneſs* among

the people, and so much *ignorance* and impudency in our late *Fanatique Leaders* of their seduced followers: for if they would have done, as *Moses* adviseth us, *To remember the dayes of old*, and read the *Ecclesiastical* Histories, Councils, and Canons of the Church, and *other* Histories, the Records of time, both of the *Greeks* and *Latines*, I perswade my self they would never have been so *disloyal* and rebellious against their *Civil* Governours, and so *averse* and refractory to the Prelates of our Church, *Quia ignorantia mater inobedientiæ*.

Deut. 32.

And therefore with *Moses*, we have great reason to wish that our men were, like these Beasts, full of eyes *behinde them*, to behold the times and things *that are past*; and especially; for I will name no more at this time, but,

1. God's *dealing* towards man.
2. Man's *requital* unto God.

1. It is a true saying of St. *Augustine*, *Antequam conditi essemus, nihil boni merebamur*, Before man was made he could *deserve* no good, he could *merit* no favour; and yet if sinful man had any eyes *behinde* him, to see what *great things* God hath done for him, he should finde *cause enough* to cry out with the *Psalmist*, *O God, what is man that thou art so mindefull of him*, and so exceeding *gracious* unto him? for thou madest him a man, when thou mightest have made him a beast: and he made him *in his own image*, and after his own likeness, in righteousness and true holiness, and he placed him in *Paradise*, the sweetest place of all the world, in a garden of God's own making, and an orchard of his own planting, that brought all *manner* of fruits, and all *kinde* of pleasant flowers, at all times of the year: and he made him Lord and Master over all his creatures, *the beasts of the field, the fowles of the air, the fishes of the sea, and whatsoever walketh through the pathes of the seas*: and these he needed not to run after them, and take *pains* to tame them as we do, but they were to come unto him, and to be obedient to him of their *own accord*. And

What God did for *Adam* in Paradise.

because

becauſe that among all theſe there was not a mate found meet for man, God made him *an helper fit for him*, a Lady more excellent then *Helen*, whom he loved, and delighted in her at firſt ſight.

And were not theſe, *Beneficia nimis copioſa, multa & magna, privata & poſitiva?* Bleſſings and benefits, for *number* beyond *number*, and for *excellency* beyond *expreſſion*; for as the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith, *Who can expreſs the noble works of the Lord, and ſhew forth all his prayſe?*

But how did man requite all theſe benefits? God gave him but *unum breve, leve, & utile mandatum*, one ſhort, eaſie, and moſt profitable Precept if he had obſerved it; no poſitive injunction of any hard work, but that which is far eaſier to be kept, a *negative* inhibition, that *he ſhould not eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil*, this was all, and no great matter, how *eaſily* might he have done it? Yet this man *ſold* his God, that had done ſuch *great* things for him, and brake his Commandment for an *Apple*. And what *moved* him to doe this, but that which moveth *all his children* ever ſince, to deſtroy themſelves and all the Kingdoms of the earth, *Ambition*? That he might be as *Lucifer* deſired to be before him, *ſimilis Altiſſimo*, like Gods, *knowing good and evil*.

How *Adam* requited God.

What moved *Adam* and *Eve* to offend God? *Ambition.*

And this *infernal* weed, that firſt took life in *Lucifer's* breaſt, hath *poyſoned* all his Poſterity ever ſince, and eſpecially all the *great men* of this world, that deſire to be greater, and affect and contend for *honour* and *greatneſs* above meaſure. For as *Eudoxus* the Philoſopher deſired of the Gods, that he might behold the Sun *very near*, to comprehend the *forme, greatneſs*, and *beauty* thereof, and afterwards be burnt of it, as the *Poets* ſay; *Phaeton* was: ſo *Ambition* is the boldeſt and the moſt *diſorderly* paſſion of all thoſe deſires, which trouble mens mindes, and fills their heads with an *inſatiable* greedineſs of obtaining thoſe things, which they ſhould no wayes deſire; and by that means, as *Adam* did, they undoe themſelves and many thouſands more: for ſo *Mar. Craſſus*, the richeſt man in *Rome*, burning with *ambition* and an exceſſive deſire of new triumphs, preſumed at

M. Craſſus.

sixty years of age to undertake the warr against *Arsaces*, King of the *Parthians*, and therein his whole *Army* was discomfited, *himself* miserably slain, *twenty thousand* of his men killed, and *ten thousand* taken Prisoners: So *Caius Marius* weakened with old age, but strengthened by *Ambition* to continue in *sovereign* authority, would undertake the warr against *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*; and thereby he was the cause of his *own* utter overthrow, and of that *great* slaughter, which imbrued all *Italy* and *Spain* with the deluge of bloud, that *Sylla*, by his extreme cruelty, brought upon them.

C. Marius.

Spurius Melius. Marc. Manlius. Hen. 5.

And the like may be said of *Spurius Melius* the *Roman* Senator, of *Marc. Manlius*, of *Henry the Fifth*, whose *ambition* deprived his *own father* from the Empire, and caused him to dye *miserably* in Prison; and indeed of those *threescore and thirteen Emperours*, that, within the space of *one* hundred years, dyed all of them (excepting three that dyed of sickness in their beds) by violent deaths. And as the *ambition* of the Triumvirate *Octav. Antonius*, and *Lepidus*, had wellnigh ruinated the *Roman* Empire; so *Peter de la Primaudaye* saith, that the *ambition* of the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Burgundy* had almost utterly consumed the Kingdom of *France*, and was the *occasion*, that more then four thousand men were slain within *Paris* inone day: and so I may say, that this *Wilde plant* and bitter root of *Ambition*, that first sprang up in Paradise, and afterwards grew worse and worse in the accursed earth, was the cause that moved the late *Usurper*, and many others of those *Traytors* and *Rebels* that followed him, to bring *all the calamities*, that we have both seen and felt in these Dominions.

Pet. de la Primauday. fr. acad. pag. 223.

And therefore we ought to detest this *cursed* Plant, that brought forth such *bitter* fruits of *undutifulness*, *unthankfulness*, and *rebellion* to be rendred unto God for all the great good that he had done for man.

But now, after that man had fallen, and thus *disloyally* sinned against God, *Non dignus est peccator pane quo vescitur, nec lumine cœli quo illuminatur*, The sinner, even the *best* of us all that are *Adam's* seed, is not worthy of the bread that he

he eateth, or the light of the Sun that ſhines unto him; for if before his being, he deſerved no *good*; how much *evil* doth he now deſerve, when he hath ſo *fouly* defiled himſelf, and ſo *highly* offended his God?

How graciouſly God dealt with *Adam*, after he had ſinned.

And yet, *Utinam ſaperent*, I would to God we would caſt our eyes *behinde us*, to behold and ſee the *goodneſs* of God, and what wonders he hath done for the children of men; for he pittyed *Adam* when he was naked, and made them coats of skin to hide and cover their *nakedneſs*, and to preſerve their bodies from the *ſtorms* of winter, and the ſcorching *heat* of ſummer. And when all the World had corrupted their wayes before God, he ſaved *Noah* and his family, when the deluge *deſtroyed* all other fleſh: and afterward he ſnatched away *Abraham* out of the very flames of *Idolatry*, that was begun to be kindled in his father *Terah*'s houſe, and then he delivered him out of *Egypt*, and preſerved him out of all his troubles: And for the ſeed of *Abraham*, the children of *Iſrael*, *Moſes* tells you what God hath done for them; for, *when he divided to the Nations their inheritance, he took Jacob for the lot of his own inheritance*; and though he found him *in a deſart land, and in the waſte howling wilderneſs, yet he led him about, he inſtructed him, and kept him as the apple of his eye, and he made him ride on the high places of the earth, that he might eat the encreaſe of the fields, and he made him to ſuck honey out of the rock, and oyl out of the flinty rock, butter of kine, and milk of ſheep, fat of lambs, and ramms of the breed of* Baſan, *and goats with the fat of kidneys, of wheat, and to drink the pure blood of the grape.*

And with the ſeed of *Adam*.

The Iſraelites.

Deut. 32. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

And the Prophet *Ezekiel* doth amplifie the *great goodneſs* of God towards this people more at large, ſaying, that their *birth* and their nativity was of the land of *Canaan*, their father was an *Amorite* and their mother an *Hittite*, (*i. e.*) an accurſed people; and in the day that thou waſt born, *thy navel was not cut, neither waſt thou waſhed in water, nor ſalted, nor ſwadled at all, no eye pittyed thee to have compaſſion upon thee; but thou waſt caſt out in the open field to the loathing of thy perſon*: and when I ſaw thee *polluted in thine own blood*,

I ſaid

I ſaid unto thee, live; and I waſhed thee with water, and anointed thee with oyl, I cloathed thee alſo with broydered work, and ſhod thee with badgers ſkin, and I girded thee about with fine linnen, and I covered thee with ſilk, I decked thee alſo with ornaments, and I put bracelets upon thine hands, and a chain on thy neck, even as our fine Ladyes have in theſe dayes, *and I have put a jewel on the forehead, and ear-rings in thine eares, and a beautiful Crown upon thy head, and thou didſt eat fine flower, and honey, and oyl, and thou becameſt exceeding beautiful and perfect through my comlineſs which I had put upon thee,* ſaith the Lord God.

Ezech. 16. 3. *ad v.* 15.

How unthankful and undutiful they were to God.

And what *reward* did this people render unto God, and what requital have they made unto him for all theſe *great benefits*, that this good God had done unto them? Firſt *Moſes* tells you, *They waxed fat, and then they kicked*, as we lately did, *and forſook God that made them, and lightly eſteemed the rock of their ſalvation; They provoked him to jealouſie with ſtrange Gods, and moved him to anger with their abominations: They ſacrificed to Devils and not to God, to Gods that they knew not, that came newly up, whom their fathers feared not*, which was and is the fruit of every new Religion, as of late dayes we have fully ſeen amongſt us.

And then, as they forſook *God* that formed them, ſo *preſently* they rebelled againſt his *ſervants*, they muttered and murmured and rejected all their Governours; and as the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith, *They angred Moſes in their tents, and Aaron the Saint of the Lord*: for theſe two, *to forſake God*, and *to rebel againſt their Governours*, do always go together. And if you look into the foreſaid ſixteenth Chapter of *Ezekiel*, you ſhall ſee how the Prophet ſheweth their *wickedneſs*, and how they have multiplied their *abominations* above meaſure, and as many of us, *over-wickedly* and unjuſtly ſeeking to make our *children* great in this world, do bring them unto the Devil in the *world to come*; ſo did they ſlay their children, and cauſe them to paſs through the fire, and as the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith, *They offered their ſons and their daughters unto Devils*: and the Lord himſelf aſſureth us, that *Sodom* had not done

Ezech. 16. 21. *Pſ.* 106. 37.

ſo

ſo wickedly as they had done, and *Samaria* had not committed half of their ſins. Ezek. 16. 48. 51.

And what an intolerable ingratitude was this? The moſt monſtrous thing that ever was; not poſſibly to be deſcribed, *quia dixeris maledicta cuncta, cum ingratum hominem dixeris*; becauſe thou ſayeſt all the evils that can be ſaid, when thou nameſt an ungrateful man; eſpecially to God, that hath done ſuch *great* things for us.

For we read of many bruit beaſts, that for ſmall benefits, have been very thankful unto men, as of the *Dog*, that for a peice of bread, will follow and be ready to die for his Maſter, and the Lion that for pulling a thorn out of his foot, preſerved the ſlave that did it, from all the beaſts of the forreſt, and afterwards his life on the Theatre in *Rome*; and *Primaudaye* tells us of an *Arabian infidel*, that, being taken priſoner, and afterwards ſet at liberty by *Baldwin* King of *Jeruſalem*, in token of his thankfulneſs for that favour, he went to him by night, into a Town where he was retired, after he had loſt the field, and declared to him the purpoſe of his companions, and conducted him, until he had brought him out of all danger. *Pri. Prim. f. 40. p. 431.*

And when *bruit beaſts* and *Pagans* are thus thankful unto us, ſhall *man* be unthankful unto God? No, no: He ſhould be truly thankful.

And *Seneca* ſaith there be four ſpecial conditions of true thankfulneſs.

1. *Grate accipere*; to receive it thankfully.
2. *Nunquam obliviſci*; Never to forget it, for he can never be thankful that hath forgotten the benefit.
3. *Ingenue fateri per quem profecerimus*: ingeniouſly to acknowledge by whom we are profited.
4. *Pro virili retribuere*: to requite the benefit received in the *beſt manner* that we are able.

Four conditions of true thankfulneſs.

But this people ſcarce obſerved any one of them, I am ſure not

not the second, and therefore not possibly the third and fourth; for the Prophet *David* tells us plainly, that after the Lord had shewed his tokens among them, and his wonders in the land of *Ham*, and had brought forth his people with joy, and his chosen with gladness, and had given them the lands of the Heathen, so that they did as many have done amongst us, to take the labours of the people in possession; Yet, within a while, they did as we do, *forget his works, and would not abide his counsel*: yea, *they forgat God their Saviour, which had done so great things in* Egypt, *wondrous things in the land of* Ham, *and fearful things by the Red sea.*

Isa. 105. 42, 43.

Ps. 106. 13.

V. 21.

But to let this people pass, that were destroyed for their unthankfulness, let us look unto our selves and have our eyes behind us, to behold and see.

What God did for us, the people of these dominions. *Amos* 3. 2.

First, *What God hath done for us.* And,
Secondly, *What we have done for the honour and service of God.* And,

First, As the Lord said of the Jews, *You only have I chosen of all the families of the earth*: so I believe the Lord may justly say of our Kings dominions, that he shewed more love and favour unto them, then he did to any other Kingdom of the World; for *whatsoever* good he did to others, he did the same to us. And he shewed two more signal favours to us, then he did to any other Kingdome of all Christendome; As

I. He raised the good Emperour *Constantine*, the Son of *Helen* out of *Britaine*, to close up the days of *persecution*, and shut the doors of the Idol-Temples.

II. When the mists of *ignorance*, and errors, and superstition had covered and overshadowed *almost* all the Church of Christ, God sent successively no less then *five* such excellent Protestant Princes, King *Edward the sixth*, Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles the* I. and II. (as no other Kingdom had the like) to protest against all the *Popish* errours and superstition, and to make such a *perfect reformation*

tion of Religion, that, both for Doctrine and Diſcipline, no Church in Chriſtendom is ſo purely and ſo perfectly eſtabliſhed, as *theſe Churches* of our Kings dominions are; ſuch love and ſuch mercies of God to us, as exceeded all the bleſſings of the earth, and ſhewed to no other Nation of the world in ſuch a meaſure, but to this.

What requital have we rendred unto God.

And what reward, I pray you, have we and our people *rendred* unto God for thoſe great unparalell'd benefits that he hath done unto us? I do profeſs I have been a man ever faithful to my King, and ever fearleſs of all the dangers of the world; and therefore, I muſt ſay the truth, as Saint *Steven* told the *Jews*, though I ſhould fare as Saint *Steven* did, that as they were a *ſtiff-necked people*, that have always reſiſted the *Holy Ghoſt*, and perſecuted the Prophets, and been the *traytors* and *murderers of Chriſt*: ſo have the major part of us ſhewed themſelves a *rebellious Nation*, that confederated to aſſiſt the *Devil*, to requite Gods extraordinary ſignal favour to us, with extraordinary ſignal contempt of Gods ſervice, and ſignal malice to all his ſervants above any other nation of the World, by raiſing *out of us*, and bringing in amongſt us, the *great Anti-Chriſt*, that is, the great enemies of Chriſt, you know whom, * to ſlay the two witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt, which were *Cohors Magiſtratuum*, *& Chorus Prophetarum*, 1. the beſt and bleſſed King *Charles the Firſt*, that like a goodly Oake, or the Cedar of *Lebanon*, was cut down with all his *boughes* and *branches* of Magiſtracy; and 2. all the *Seers*, that were the eyes, the *light*, and the reverend *Governours* of Gods Church: and inſtead of them to bring in the *wild-bore* out of the wood, the great *Uſurper*, to deſtroy the *vineyard* of Chriſt; and *Gebal* and *Ammon*, and *Amalec*, the *Philiſtims*, *with them that dwell at Tyre*, the whole rable of *Presbyterians*, *Independants*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Quakers*, and other ſects, which are the falſe Prophet, to devour the revenues of the Church, and to deſtroy *all the houſes of God in the land*: and ſo to corrupt the whole *Service* of that good God that had ſo graciouſly done ſuch *great* things for us, as I have

* The Long Parliament.

Thoſe were the 2 witneſſes

Pſ. 83. 7.

fully shewed it heretofore, and will hereafter be manifested for truth, every day more and more.

And if these things be a good *requital*, or a just thankfulness to God for all the benefits that he hath done unto us, judge you.

What God hath done for every one of us in particular.

But to leave these monsters of men for their imparalell'd ingratitude, let us return to our selves here present, and see what God hath done for every one of us; for he made thee a man or a woman, when he might have made thee a beast; and he gave thee all thy limbs, thy sight, and thy senses, when thou mightest have been born, like him that was so, blind from his mothers womb. I am sure thou wouldst be very thankful to that Chirurgion that would but preserve thy finger; and what thanks owest thou to him, that gave thee all thy members, and whatsoever else thou hast? good wit, larg memory, strong body, comely proportion, loving wife, sweet children, riches, honour, favour, preferment, and all that thou hast; all is from God. And that which is far better then all these; for herein, *Dedit te tibi Deus*, He did but onely give thee unto thy self, and those *temporal* blessings that are momentary: but he redeemed thee from the pit wherein there is no water, and in this thy redemption, *Dedit se tibi Deus*, God gave himself unto thee, and his onely Son to die for thee, he sends his servants to teach thee, and his Holy Spirit to work all the good gifts that are in thee to make thee a *good Christian* here, that thou maiest be for ever *blessed* hereafter. And

1 What good things he hath bestowed on us.

2 From how many evils he hath preserved us.

2. If thou hadst these eyes, to look behind thee, thou mightest see, not onely how much good the Lord God hath bestowed upon thee, but also from how many evils he hath preserved thee: for Satan, like a roaring Lion would have devoured thee, thine enemies that rose up against thee would have undone thee, if the Lord himself had not been on thy side; and, as the *Psalmist* saith, they would have swallowed thee up quick, when they were so wrathfully displeased at thee; yea thine own self many times, by thy desperate riding, running, jumping, or the like, mightest perhaps have

Ps. 124. 1, 2.

broken

broken thy bones, thy limbs, or thy neck, if thy good God had not reached his hand to ſave thee from falling, as he did to Saint *Peter* to preſerve him from ſinking.

And are not theſe things bleſſings worthy to be remembred?

O that we would therefore prayſe the Lord for his goodneſs, and declare the wonders that he doth for the children of men? And that we would ſometimes caſt our eyes behinde us, to ſee what requital we have rendred unto God for all thoſe benefits that he hath done for us; and eſpecially for bringing our Gratious King unto us, and reſtoring both the Church to her purity, to her rights, and ſervice of God, and the Common-Wealth to its peace and tranquillity.

For as the Prophet *David* ſaith, *I called mine own wayes to remembrance*: So ſhould every one doe, call his wayes to remembrance; that, if he findes, he hath been carefull in God's ſervice and a faithful Steward in God's houſe, it may be a comfort unto his Conſcience, *Quia immenſa eſt latitia de memoria tranſacta virtutis*, becauſe the remembrance of former virtues, and of our Service and thankfulneſſe unto God, will bring a great deale of joy and comfort unto our ſelves; or if he hath blaſphemed Gods Name, neglected his Word, robbed his Church, and offended his Majeſty, he may repent, and as *Job* ſaith, *abhorr himſelf in duſt and aſhes.*

Two things to be conſidered to move us to ſerve God.

But that I may the better and the ſooner perſwade you to fear God, and to ſerve him, and to doe that which is juſt and honeſt in his ſight, I ſhall with *Moſes* deſire you to remember the *days of old, and conſider the years of many generations*, and therein to obſerve but theſe two things.

First, *How God bleſſed thoſe that walked in his wayes.*
Secondly, *How he plagued thoſe that neglected his ſervice, and tranſgreſſed his commands.*

1. How God blessed those that served him.

1. *Enoch* walked with God, and God *took him* to himself: *Noah* was a just man, and God *preserved* him from the deluge: *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph* feared the Lord, and the Lord *blessed* them in all that they took in hand: and the Prophet *David* generally saith, *blessed is the man that feareth the Lord*, that hath great delight in his commandments, *his seed shall be mighty upon earth*, riches and plenteousnes shall be in his house, and *his righteousnes endureth for ever*: and *Solomon* saith the like, that *the memorial of the just is blessed*, and his children *are blessed after him*. And therefore if thou *lovest* thy children, and wouldest have them to grow great and to *prosper* in the world, be *just* in all that thou doest, and neither *rob God* of his right, nor *oppresse*, cozen, or defraud thy poor neighbour; which not done are the *chiefest*, if not the onely things, that will bring the *curse* of God upon thee and thy Posterity. For,

Psal. 112. 1, 2, 3.

Proverb 10. 7. & c. 20. 7.

2. How God plagued those that transgressed his commandments and neglected his service.

2. Do but cast thine eyes *behind thee*, and consider how God *plagued* the unrighteous Generations; and you shall finde, that when the old world *corrupted* their wayes, the Lord *swept them all away* with the deluge; when the cry of *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* came to the eares of God, God *destroyed* them with fire and brimstone: so when the cry of the *innocent* servants of Christ shall not be heard to have *justice* done unto them, because of the great friends and *power* of their oppressours, then as the *Psalmist* saith, *The Lord will hear their cry and will help them.*

And here to *terrifie* offenders from their wickednes, I could willingly enlarge my discourse, to shew the *fearful* examples of Gods judgement against *many sorts* of Malefactors; but my *short* allowance of time will scarce permit me to give you the sight of *some few* judgements against and upon these four *predominant* sins, that are so *rife* amongst us, and so pernitious unto us.

1. *Rebellion*,

1. *Rebellion*,
2. *Perjury*,
3. *Injuſtice*,
4. *Sacriledge*.

The four uſual ſins of theſe dayes.

1. For *Rebellion*, this our laſt Age, and the many Plots and Practices of wicked and fanatick Rebels now peeping forth amongſt us, do ſufficiently ſhew how *apt we are* to fall into it, though it be as bad as the ſin of *witch-craft*, which is the giving of our ſouls by a Contract unto the Devil: but the *dreadful* vengeance of God for the Rebellion of *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram* againſt their Governours, when the earth opened her mouth and ſwallowed them down *quick* to Hell, and the heavy judgement of God upon *Abſolon* for rebelling againſt King *David*, which followed him hard at the *heeles*, until he came to the bough where he was hanged, and the *ſhameful* yet moſt juſtly deſerved death of our *late Rebels*, and of many more the like Villaines, that I could quote to you out of Hiſtories, ſhould *deterre* them from this unnatural ſin of *Rebellion*, and keep them within the bounds of their *obedience* to their Governours, which is more acceptable in the ſight of God then *any ſacrifice* that we can offer him: or if this can not do it, then may they look for the like end, as thoſe that committed the like ſins. 1. Rebellion.

2. For *Perjury*, it is ſo *pernitious* a ſin, and yet ſo *general*, that I know not how to expreſs the *hainouſneſs* thereof. But I finde this *perjury* to be like the three headed *Cerberus*. 2. Perjury.

1. Of thoſe *Inferiours*, that either for *bribes* and reward, or for *fear* of their Land-lords or other great men, will moſt *falſly ſwear* before Judge or Jury to the taking away of the *goods*, *lands*, or *life* of many innocent men, which is a ſin worthy to be puniſhed by the Judges, as being the *utter ruine* of many men, fatherleſs and widdows. 1. Of Inferiors.

2. Of *Superiours* which break their faith and oaths that they make unto their Inferiours. And ſuch a forſworn wretch was *Lyſander* the Admiral of the *Lacedemonians*, and 2. Of Superiors. *Lyſander.*

Tiſſaphernes

Tiſſaphernes. *Cleomenes.*

Tiſſaphernes that brake his oath which he made with the *Grecians*, and *Cleomenes* King of *Lacedemon* that did the like with the *Argians*, but he was ſufficiently *plagued* by the *juſt judgement* of God for his *perfidiouſneſs* and perjury, when the women of *Argos* overthrew the *greateſt* part of his Army, and he with a knife killed himſelf. And *many more* Tyrants and Commanders I could name of this kinde, that neither *feared God*, nor regarded their *faith with men*; and therefore were *plagued* by the juſt judgements of God.

3. Of the middle ſort.

3. The *other ſort* of perjurers are of a *middle ſize*, and great men, that either through *diſcontent* or hope to be made greater, do break their *faith*, and falſifie *the oath of God*, as *Solomon* calls it; and ſo prove *Rebels* and Traytors unto their Kings and Governours.

Eccleſ. 8. 2.

1. How *Neclas* ſerved *Duringus* for his treachery to the Son of *Vratiſlas.*

But how doth the juſt God *reward* theſe perfidious and perjured Villaines? And how do moſt wiſe men *deeme* and deale with them? but as *Neclas* did with *Duringus*, who to ſecure *Neclas*, as he ſaid, in his Throne, falſified his faith to his Prince, and killed the Son of *Vratiſlas*, that was the next Heir unto the Crown; hoping that for his good ſervice he ſhould be much favoured and well rewarded of *Neclas*: but the wiſe Prince *abhorring* ſuch perfidiouſneſs, ſaid unto him, that *perjury and treachery could not be mitigated and wiped away by any good turns or after-ſervice*; and therefore whereas he expected a *reward* for his good ſervice done unto him, he ſhould have it according to his *merit*. For of three things he ſhould chuſe which he would. 1. To *kill himſelf* with a poinyard; or, 2. *Hang himſelf* with an halter; or, 3. *Caſt himſelf* down from the Rock of *Viſgrade:* and he hanged himſelf upon an Elder tree, which while it ſtood, was called *Duringis* tree, as *Æneas Sylvius* writeth.

Æneas Sylv Hiſt. Bohem. c. 11.

2. How *Selim* uſed *Ladiſlas, Kerezin. Camerar. Hiſt. Meditat. l.* 1. *pag.* 20. *c.* 7. *Johan. Menarius Hiſtor. Turc. l.* 4. *c.* 22.

And though *Ladiſlas Kerezin* did a very good turn to *Selim*, in yielding up to him the ſtrong place of *Hinla*; yet for his perjury and perfidiouſneſs he cauſed him to be brought to a moſt miſerable death, which you may ſee in *Camerar.* And the ſame *Selim* did the like to a *Jewiſh* Phyſitian, whom after the good ſervice he had done unto him, he cauſed

cauſed to be beheaded for his *treachery* againſt his Father, ſaying, that upon the leaſt *diſcontent* or hope of *reward*, he would not ſtick to do to him as he did to his *Father*; and therefore he had no reaſon to let him live, becauſe commonly Traytors are *double Traytors*, and as unfaithful to him whom they *ſerve*, as to him whom they have *betrayed*. And ſo *Soliman* his Son promiſed his Daughter with a very great dowry to a certain *Traytor* for yielding unto him the Iſle of *Rhodes*; and when he got the Iland, he brought his Daughter in a *magnifical* pompe unto him, and ſaid, thou ſeeſt *I am a man of my word*; but forasmuch as you are a Chriſtian, and thy Wife a *Mahumetan*, and I am loath to have a Son in Law, that is not a *Muſulman*; therefore it is not *ſatisfactory* to me, that in hope of favour and gain thou turn thy *coat* for faſhion ſake: but thou muſt alſo put off thy *skin* which is baptized and uncircumciſed, and ſo he cauſed him to be flead alive. And the ſame *Solyman* uſed the betrayers of *Nadaſt* that defended the Caſtle of *Buda* in like manner.

3. How *Soliman* uſed the Traytor that yielded to him the Ile of *Rhodes*.

Camerar. l.1. c. 7. p. 21.

And the King of *Henetia* having promiſed Marriage to *Romilda* the Wife of Prince *Signlphus*, which had fallen in love with him, as *Potiphars* Wife did with *Joſeph*, ſo ſoon as ſhe delivered unto him the City of *Friol*, did after her *marriage* and one nights lodging with her, cauſe her to be ſet, and married to a *ſharp ſtake*, as a worthy *puniſhment* of her treachery.

4. How the King of *Henetia* ſerved *Romilda* the Wife of *Signlphus*.

Aventinus l. 3. Annal. Bavar.

And the Emperour *Aurelian* did not much better uſe the Traytour *Heraclemon*, nor *Brennus Demonica*, that betrayed into his hands the City of *Epheſus*, as *Titus Liv.* ſaith the Daughter of *Sp. Tarpeius* betrayed the City of *Rome* unto the *Sabines*, and for her reward loſt her life on the *Tarpeian Hill*.

5. How *Aurelian* ſerved *Heraclemon*.

But though I could produce to you very many more examples of this kinde, yet I will cloſe up this point with what *Mahomet* did to *John Juſtinian* of *Genua*, who promiſed to deliver *Conſtantinople* into the Emperours hands, ſo he would make him *King* of ſuch a place that he deſired. And *Mahomet* yielded and aſſured him that he would do it; and *ſo he did*; for as ſoone as ever the ſaid *Juſtinian* had betrayed the City

6. How *Mahomet* ſerved *John Juſtinian*.

Pet. Primandaye c. 39. pag. 423.

City into his hands, he preſently made him King for that *good ſervice* which he had done unto him; but for a reward of his *treachery* to his Lord and Maſter *Auguſtulus*, he cut off his head within three dayes after.

And ſo all the wiſe men that I have read of, do conceive that *no good ſervice* done to ſucceeding Kings, can merit the *blotting out* of the perjury and perfidiouſneſs of Traytors to their *former Kings* and Maſters; but that after they be rewarded for their good turns done to the latter, they ſhould likewiſe *receive* the merit of their perfidiouſneſs to the former.

Theodorus in Collect. l. 2. The reaſons why perfidiouſneſs ſhould not be pardoned.

And the *reaſon* is rendred by the foreſaid Sages.

1. Becauſe that as *Theodoric* the *Arian* ſaid, when he cut off the head of an *Orthodox Deacon* whom he loved, becauſe he *revolted*, (to pleaſe *Theodoric*, as he thought) to *Arianiſm*, they that keep not their *oaths* and faith to God, can never be faithful to any mortal man.

Flav. Vopiſc. in vita Aureli-an.

2. Becauſe that as *Aurelian* ſaid, when he ſuffered *Heraclemon*, which had done him ſo *good ſervice*, to be ſlain, he could not *believe* that he which would *betray* his Countrey, and prove *faithleſs* to his own Prince, could ever continue *faithful* unto him; but that upon the like diſcontent or hope of a *greater* gain, ſuch Traytors as will *turn* the leaf, and ſaile with *every winde*, will become as treacherous to their *latter benefactors*, as they have been unto their *former Maſters*. And therefore though we ſhould *forgive* them as Chriſtians; yet it is neither *wiſdome* nor *policy* to believe them as friends, becauſe not onely the Fable of the Snake, but the Son of *Syrach* alſo teacheth us, what little credit is to be given to *reconciled friends*, *Eccleſ.* 10. 12. And the wiſe heathen bids us, *ſemper diffidere*, to *ſuſpect* ſuch faithleſs men continually.

Object. But what if the Kings and Princes have promiſed *Pardons* unto the *Traytors* for ſome *ſpecial ſervice* done unto them: Can they afterward *puniſh* them for their *precedent* offences unto others?

I

I anſwer, that as *Cicero* ſaith, every man is bound (and much more it is for the *honour* of a Prince) to keep his word and promiſes *inviolable*; though upon ſome exigent *neceſſity*, he may be conſtrained to make the ſame to his *prejudice*, and againſt his will: and it was well ſaid, that the *bare word* of a Prince ſhould be of as great force as *the oath* of a private man. *Sol.*

But though *Kings* and Princes ſhould *inviolably* obſerve their words in their Pardons *granted* unto Rebels and Traytors and other Maleſactors; yet as *Philip* King of *Macedon* anſwered *Laſthenes*, that betrayed the City of *Olynthum*, and *Auguſtus Cæſar* ſaid to *Rymetalces* King of *Thratia*, that had forſaken *Antonius*, to joyn with him, that he loved the *treaſon* that did him *good*, but he could not endure the *Traytor* that betrayed his *Maſter*. And *Alexander Severus* was of the ſame minde, but that he joyned *cruelty* with his *hatred* unto the Traytors; for when he had inticed many Captains of *Piſcennius Niger*, his Competitor of the Empire, to diſcloſe their *Maſters ſecrets*, and had ſerved his turn of them, and ſettled his affairs, he made *all thoſe Traytors*, and their children alſo to be put to death, as *Herodian* writeth. So the wiſeſt men conceived that they ought not to *countenance* and favour thoſe that had been *Traytors* unto other Princes; though they had done good ſervice unto them: and that for theſe three reaſons. Not to countenance and favour thoſe that have been Traytors: and why. *Herod. l. 3*

1. For that he which hath turned *one leaf* can turn *another*; and he that hath betrayed my *Father*, may upon the like hopes and ſurmiſes betray *me* likewiſe; and he that hath been a Rebel, knows the way to become *a* Rebel.

2. For that this *honouring* and *magnifying* of Rebels and Traytors to *former Princes*, for their good ſervice done to *latter Maſters*, may prove to be an *encouragement* for others to become Rebels and Traytors in like manner againſt their Kings. For when amongſt *many* thouſands of Rebels, they ſee but *few* puniſhed, the *reſt* pardoned, and many of them *favoured* and *preferred*, why may not the *ſeditious* think, that

they ſhall either prevail; or if miſs of their enterpriſe, they may eſcape the *fortune* of thoſe few that ſhall be puniſhed, and be *magnified* like thoſe that they do ſee thus rewarded?

3. For that this favouring and countenancing of thoſe that *have been* Rebels and falſe, is a great offence and *diſcouragement* to thoſe that have ever continued faithful and loyal, eſpecially if they ſee themſelves poſtponed and neglected.

And therefore the *Kings* and *Princes* that I told you of, thought it neither *wiſdom* nor *policy* to regard and favour thoſe, whom they *pardoned* for their *treachery* to their former Princes, though they had done never ſo *good ſervice* unto themſelves; and if all Kings did ſo, I believe *fewer* Traytors would ſpring up among the people.

And this appeareth *plainly* by our new *Plotters* of *Rebellions* and *Treaſons* now amongſt us in this Kingdom of *Ireland*; for *who* and *what* are they that *doe thus* murmur and mutter againſt both *God* and his *Anointed*, the King and his Lieutenant, the Church and Common-wealth? But *thoſe* that have been members of the *Beaſt*, and limbs of the great *Anti-Chriſt*, the *Rebels* and *Traytors* that roſe and warr'd, and ſome no doubt, but had their *hands* or *fingers* dipped deep in the *blood* of that *bleſſed Saint* and *glorious Martyr*, our late *moſt gracious* King *Charles the Firſt*: and having *eſcaped* their juſt deſerved ſhame and death, and being ſo *highly* rewarded by their Grand Maſters for their *great* wickedneſs, with the lands of the *Iriſh*, without diſtinction, whether they were *bloudy Murderers* and Rebels againſt their King, or *innocent Papiſts*, that were both *loyal* unto their King, and *ſuccourers* of the Proteſtants, and now ſeeing the *touchſtone* of truth and juſtice, rendring to every one *his own*, according to his *merit*, either of *nocency* or *innocency*, they ſtamp and ſtare, and being moved with madneſs, like boyes at blinde man-buff, they let-fly *their Arrows*, even *bitter* words; nay, *falſe ſcandalous, rebellious*, and *treacherous* words againſt the *King*, againſt his *Lieutenant*, and againſt the *peace* and *happineſs* of this *whole Kingdom*: they care not whom they *traduce*, ſo they

they may ſtir up the coals of *contention*, and move the *diſcontented* to a new *Rebellion*.

And what *wayes* do they take for this, but the very ſame which they had *learned* and *practiſed* before in *England* under the *Long-Parliament*.

1. To *tax* and to *traduce* the *good King* for doing that they know not, nor ever ſhall be able to prove that he did; but the *Scots* ſay that he did: and ſo they do ſay a *thouſand things* more then I *believe* to be true: and they ſhould believe *nothing*, eſpecially what they *know not*, againſt their King, when as *all* other men, that are both *wiſe* and *honeſt*, can *ſufficiently* anſwer and juſtifie all that ever his now Majeſty did. And I, that am not *worthy* to be of his counſel, and to know the *reaſons* of his actions; yet could ſhew you very *juſt* and *ſufficient* reaſons for *every* thing that ever I heard his Majeſty did: and I would do it, but that *Himſelf* and his *Council*, I know, can juſtifie *all his actions*, with many *far deeper reaſons* then I can dive into.

Therefore theſe very *firebrands* of ſedition, knowing this, would a little excuſe his Majeſty, by laying the faults upon his *Counſellors*, that ſeduced him. And who are they? They ſpeak in general, *& in univerſalibus latet error*; ſo did the *long Parliament* againſt our late King: there they learned their *leſſon*, and they walk in the ſame paths. But the former *Parliaments* could name their names, the *Duke of Buckingham*: ſo can *theſe men* name the *Duke of Ormond*. And what hath he done? I obſerve two things that they charge him with.

1. To *teſtifie* what he knew to be *truth*, and theſe men conceived to be otherwiſe; A *mighty* fault! becauſe they had not their eyes *open* to ſee the truth, his *Grace* offended to *teſtifie* the truth.

2. In obeying his Majeſty's *gracious goodneſs*, by *relieving* thoſe that were *neceſſitous*, and perhaps, for ought that they know, had done his Majeſty *very good ſervice*, and, for ought that we know, had done no *injury* to any of our men; and this is a ſin *unpardonable* with theſe *uncharitable* men. I, but

they will ſay, by relieving *theſe* he lets the *Army* ſtarve: and I demand, what *Subject* ever did pawn his own *lands*, melt his own *plate*, lay out his own *moneys* to relieve the King's *Armies*, and to ſhew himſelf, I will not ſay *more faithful*, but I ſay, *neer ſo faithful* to his King, and ſo bountiful a beneſactor and friend *to all the King's loyal Subjects*, as the *Duke of Ormond* hath alwayes been? I muſt, and ever will, with all thankfulneſs acknowledge it; when the *long Parliament* and their *whelps* had robbed me of all that I had, all the relief and ſubſiſtence, which I had from *all the friends* in the world, was that *bountiful gift*, which this *noble Duke* ſent me by Sir *George Lane*: And I could name *the many many more*, to whom his *Grace* did the like; And are theſe things, faults worthy to be reproved? And I am ſure he hated the *Rebellion*, and diſowned the *Rebels* of this Nation as much or more then any man: and would you have him to be an enemy to the *poſtnati*, and a ſtranger to the *innocent*? God hath made him a more *honourable*, and a more *gracious* man.

I, but we are not yet come to the *quick*, the *Engliſh intereſt*, by the favour of the *Duke* unto the *Iriſh* and the *Judges* of the Court of *Claim*, is much *ſhaken*, and is like to be *diſmembred* and left inanimate.

But would you have the *Engliſh intereſt* to continue, be it *right* or *wrong*? or would you have it *ſo* to continue, that God might *bleſs* it, and it to *proſper*? If ſo, then let it be rooted in *juſtice* and eſtabliſhed in *truth*; or otherwiſe, the *breath* of the Lord will *ſcatter* it, and the *wrath* of God will ſoon *deſtroy* it; and inſtead of *bleſſing*, will, as *Jacob* ſaid, bring the *curſe* of God upon you and your Poſterity. And you might *ſee* if you had your eyes *open*, the great *care* of my *L Duke*, and the great *pains* and *diligence* of the Court of *Claim*, to ſearch out the *truth* of every cauſe, that the innocent ſhould not be made *guilty*, nor the nocent carry away the *victory*. And what *more* would you have done?

Yet, as I ſaid before, they that have learned the *way* to be Rebels, do *know* the way to be rebellious ſtill.

But

But eſpecially becauſe *Rebels* and *Traytors* have had their *Preſidents* and examples to chalk and tread out the deſperate pathes of treachery and *rebellion* unto them; becauſe, as the *Poet* ſaith;

Nullum carnit exemplo nefas,

You cannot eaſily name the wickedneſs, that I can not *parallel* with the like example, as, If *Alexander* and *Holophernes* were drunk, ſo was *Noah* long before them; If *Oedipus* committed inceſt with *Jocaſta*, ſo did *Lot* commit inceſt with his own daughters, and if *Polynices* kill'd his own brother *Eteocles*; ſo did *Alexander Caracalla* kill his own brother *Getha*, *Romulus* killed *Remus*, and *Cain* his onely brother *Abel*.

And ſo the men that became *Rebels* and *Traytors* unto their King, and *murderers* of their Brethren here amongſt us, may alledge, they are not the *firſt that rebelled*; but they can name enough that *murdered* their oppreſſors, which they *onely intended* to do: and they can cite you *great Maſſacres*, and the rooting out of many Potentates, that *Lorded* and *domineered* over the poor people; as the *maſſacres* in *France*, the *Cicilian* Veſpers, the treachery of *Mithridates*, and the ſubjects of *Pontus*, that conſpired together, to deſtroy all the *Romans*, that were diſperſed over all the Kingdom of *Pontus*; ſo the *Saxons* became treacherous, and the murderers of all the *Britiſh* Lords, on *Salisburie-plain*: and they ſay the *Iriſh* did the like, to eradicate the *Danes* out of this Kingdom: and they have done no more unto their Oppreſſours.

But to anſwer theſe ſubtle *Pleaders*; for the defence, or leſſening of their *ſinful* miſchief, by the example of others wickedneſs, I ſay,

1. That no *example* can any ways *excuſe* wickedneſs, but rather *aggravates* the ſin; that the *ſight* of others falling into the ditch, ſhould teach us to *beware* of the like fall; yea,

though we ſhould have never ſo many examples of any evil-doing, yet we ought not to *follow* them; becauſe the Lord tells us plainly, *We ought not to follow a multitude to do evil*; and it is our duty, not to do what *others* do, but what God *commands* us, and all others to do.

2. I ſay, that herein, *hic hic carnit exemplo nefas*, thoſe two fold treachery and rebellion,

1. Of the late *Engliſh-Scotizing* Rebels,
And,
2. Of the bloody *Iriſh murderers*,

can not be *fitted* with any *Preſidents*. nor parallel'd out of any Hiſtories.

I do aſſure you, that I have read as many *Engliſh*, *Greek*, and *Latin* Hiſtories, as well I could; yet in all the Hiſtories that I have read, I do profeſs unto you, I never found ſo much cruel *ſubtlety*, and ſuch *infernal impiety*, as I ſaw in the *Engliſh* Rebels; nor ſo much *ingratitude*, *inhumanity*, and *cruelty*, as we read in Sir *John Temples* Book, was acted in the *Iriſh* Inſurrection, if you will afford it no *worſer* name; for,

1. Touching the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Rebellions; firſt for their *ſubtlety*; the *ſubtle ſerpent* deviſed not ſo many lies to deceive our forefathers, as they moſt *impudently* forged to deſtroy their own moſt *Pious King*, and all their *Spiritual Fathers*; ſo that all the Kings *Declarations*, all the *Proteſtations* of his friends and Councel, and all the *Preaching* of the moſt faithful and Orthodox Preachers, could not *undeceive* the ſeduced giddie-headed people. And,

2. For their *impiety*; it is moſt certain, and beyond compariſon, that there was not ever a *greater* wickedneſs committed,

ted, then the *crucifying* of the Son of God; but beſides the *many* parallels betwixt thoſe *Jews*, and theſe Rebels; exceeding all impiety; the *malicious* proſecution, and the *violent* perſecution of theſe rebels againſt our late King, and the *belliſh manner* of compaſſing his death, and killing him, went beyond all the wickedneſs of thoſe wicked *Jews*. For.

1. The *Jews knew him not*, nor yet the *voices of the Prophets*, as the Apoſtles teſtifie in many places; and *Chriſt* himſelf ſaith, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do*: and they knew him not to be their *King*; for the *Romans* had long reigned over them, and he had refuſed to be made *King*; but the long Parliament knew *Charles the firſt*, and knew him well enough to be their own *indubitable*, juſt, and lawful King. And therefore they fought for the *King* and *Parliament*, ſuch a *cheat*, and ſuch a riddle as you never read the like; and yet a very true one, as true as *Samſons* riddle, if you underſtand it *right*; for they fought for the *King* to deſtroy him, that i., for the *Kings deſtruction*; and they fought for the *Parliament*, to make them *abſolute Lords*, to reign and rule as *Kings*. The *Jews* never had ſuch wit. 1 *Reſp.* *Act.* 13. 27. 17.

2. The *Jews* put Chriſt to death more for *fear* then for *hate*; for, *Venient Romani*, was the ſpur that pricked them forward to deſtroy *Chriſt*, leſt the *Romans* ſhould come, and take away their *rule*, and *deſtroy* their *religion*; but not the *fear* of any ſtrange Nations coming to *reign* and *rule* over them; but *inveterate malice* to the *King*, and the height of *ambition* to rule, and to become as *Kings* themſelves, made the late Rebels to deſtroy the Vice-Roy of *Chriſt*. 2. *Reſp.*

3. The *Jews* diſmembred not our Saviour; for, *not a bone of him was broken*, not the leaſt *limb* of him was taken away; but thoſe *Butchers* brake, and cut off the head of him, that was *their head*, and the head of us all; and they did ſo many other ſuch *tragick-acts*, that, whiſe I was writing the great 3 *Reſp.*

Antichriſt, I often conceived, that if *Beelzebub*, out of all the *choiſeſt* Varlets, and moſt tranſcendent Villains, that from the beginning of the World he had *collected* to be his own *cabinet*-companions, he had picked out a *pack* of rebels, and had ſent them unto us, they would have become *ſhort* of thoſe bloody murderers of our late gracious *King*: becauſe, that as *Satan* himſelf, ſo the *Inſtruments* of *Satan*, by experience, and the length of time, do grow ſubtler and ſubtler, and are ſtill better and better inabled, to commit the *greater* wickedneſs.

And how a *greater wickedneſs* could be committed, then that ſo good, ſo pious, and ſo excellent a Prince as King *Charles the firſt*, ſhould be withſtood, rebelled againſt, betrayed, deſerted by his *Engliſh*, *Scottiſh*, and *Iriſh* ſubjects, (excepting a few noble Lords, and others) that ſtuck unto him, and ſo *cruelly* bemangled him to death, it makes me *ſilent* and *dumb*, that I know not what to ſay, but to pray to God that this *great wickedneſs* be not yet laid to our charge.

And Secondly; For the *Iriſh* Rebellion, it was beyond example; I ſay, that in many particulars their *ingratitude* was beyond all parallel; for other Nations, as the ſubjects of the King of *Pontus*, and the like, that rebelled and murdered all the *Romans* in their dominions, and thoſe *Iriſh* that rooted out the *Danes*, had ſome kind of colour to do the ſame; becauſe their domineering Lords were *aliens*, and *oppreſſed* them beyond meaſure, as the *Philiſtins* did the *Iſraelites*, and kept them as *ſlaves* under them; but the late *Iriſh* Rebels were *Peers*, and as the *chief Lords* of the kingdom, and ſuch *interchange* of marriages, betwixt the *Engliſh*, *Britiſh*, and *Iriſh*, and ſuch mutual pledges of *love*, *amity*, and *familiarity* betwixt them, that there could not be the *leaſt ſuſpicion* of the leaſt diſtaſt amongſt them.

And beſides all this, though there were ſome *penal* Statutes made againſt them; yet they were for the *moſt part* ſuffered to lie *aſleep*, and covered over with many kindneſſes: and they themſelves permitted, as God ſaid of *Adam*, to become *as one of us*, and as *Q. Dido* ſaid of the *Trojans*, *Troi*

Tros, Tyriuſque mihi nullo diſcrimine agetur.

We made no difference of any priviledge amongſt us. And therefore,

What a horrible *ingratitude* was it then for ſuch men to riſe, and to rebel, and ſo *malicionſly* to intend, ſo *inhumanely*, ſo *barbarouſly*, and ſo *cruelly* to root out, and to deſtroy their Neighbours, Friends, and Allies?

And eſpecially, to plot ſuch a *miſchievous act*, as they intended ſo *ſubtly*, ſo *ſecretly*, and ſo univerſally as they did? For what created power under heaven is able to *diſſolve* that *villany*, and to evade that *miſchief*, which *ſubtlety*, *power*, and *cruelty* have combined and confederated to bring to paſs? Surely we may moſt juſtly take up the words of the *Pſalmiſt*, and ſay, *If the Lord himſelf had not been on our ſide, now may England ſay, If the Lord himſelf had not been on our ſide, when theſe men roſe up againſt us, it had not failed, but that they had ſwallowed us up quick*, and we had been utterly deſtroyed, when they were ſo *wrathfully* diſpleaſed at us. Pſ. 124. 1.

And this his being on our ſide, is not to be underſtood of an *ordinary* manner, and *common providence*, which ruleth and diſpoſeth all things wiſely, but of a *ſpecial providence* in an *extraordinary* manner, and a *ſignal favour* towards us; which the Lord hath ſhewed three ſpecial times in our days, and to our people, As,

1. In the reveiling of the *Gunpowder-plot*, when as *flos & medulla regni*, the King and all his *Peers*, the flower and marrow of the kingdom ſhould have been blown up, and all deſtroyed, *uno ictu*, in one twinckling of an eye.

2. In the diſcovery of this *Iriſh* machination, and *deſperate* intention

intention of theſe Rebels, which had got into this City; and had gotten their *ends*, had not our good God ſet a hook in their noſtrils, and ſaid unto them, as he ſaith unto the Sea, *Hitherto ſhalt thou go and no further*, here ſhalt thou ſtay thy *proud waves*; and out of his *ſpecial providence*, ſent one, in a ſtrange manner, out of themſelves, to diſcover them unto our Governours.

3. In the *dividing* and *ſcattering* both of the *Engliſh*, and the *Iriſh* Rebels, and the bringing in of our moſt gratious King unto us, ſo peaceably, ſo *quietly*, and in a manner ſo *miraculouſly*, *ſine ſanguine*, *ſine ſtrepitu*, to the joy and comfort of us all. For theſe things above all the reſt of Gods mercies, are *ſpecial* acts of Gods *providence*, and ſuch as any one, that, like *theſe Beaſts*, hath his eys behind him, might ſee, and ſay, *Digitus Dei erat hic*; here, in all theſe things, no *humane* art, but the very hand of God brought them all to paſs.

Why God brought things thus to paſs.

And God brought them *thus* to paſs, for theſe two ſpecial ends.

1. For the deliverance of his ſervants, and all faithfull people, to incite them for ever, to become thankful unto him, for ſuch unſpeakable and extraordinary favours.

And truly, if God commanded the *Iſraelites* to obſerve the feaſt of *Paſſover* in remembrance of their Deliverance from *Pharaohs* bondage, and their paſſage through the red ſea, and doth ſo exceedingly blame them, that they had ſo ſoon *forgot his works*, and were not mindfull of his covenant but had forgot God *their Saviour*, that had wrought ſuch great things in *Egypt*, wonderous things in the land of *Ham*, and fearful things by the red-ſea; and if the *Jews* upon the command of *Heſter* and *Mordechai* did, throughout all their *generations*, obſerve the feaſt of *Purim*, the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the moneth *Adar*; and Chriſt himſelf obſerved the ſame, in remembrance of their

Heſter 9. 27. 31

deliverance,

deliverance from the treachery of *Haman*, then certainly we have great reaſon to obſerve this twenty third day of *October*, in remembrance of our great *deliverance*, and to ſhew our *thankefulneſs* unto God throughout all generations, for that *deliverance* from thoſe bloody *maſſacres* that were intended againſt us, and it ſhould be a day of *rejoycing*, and of *feaſting*, and of *relieving the poor*, as were the days of *Purim*, and eſpecially, ſeeing it cannot be imagined what miſeries and calamities might have ſucceeded, if they had prevailed.

2. God diſcovered theſe ſecret *Plots*, and *Treacheries* of the Rebels, and effected theſe wonderful things, *not onely*, for our ſakes, or onely to get *thanks* and *praiſe* for the *deliverance* of us his ſervants; but alſo to get *honour* and *glory* unto himſelf, as he ſaith of *Pharaoh*, by the puniſhment and deſtruction of his Adverſaries. And that the puniſhment and *rooting-out* of Rebels, and Traytors, might be a *preſervative* to deterr all others from *plotting rebellions*, and *treaſon* againſt their *King*, or any other miſchief againſt their Neighbours.

And therefore, if men will needs be *ſeditious* and *rebellious*, I would they were like theſe beaſts *full of eyes behind them*, that they might ſee, and *ſeriouſly* conſider, how the juſt God doth *reward*, and *puniſh*, and *plague* theſe *perfidious*, and *perjured* Villains, and how moſt wiſe men deem and deal with them, no otherwiſe, but as *Neelas* did with *Duringus*, and the other wiſe *Kings* and *Princes* did with thoſe perfidious, and perjured Rebels, that I told you of before.

And the reaſon why they did ſo, was, becauſe they found it unanſwerably true, that the beſt way to *ſecure* their peace, and to eſtabliſh them in their dominions, is to deſtroy, and to root out rebels, and traytors out of their territories. For you may read how *Shimei* became a rebel againſt King *David*, and how King *David* pardoned him: Yet he bids King *Solomon* to bring his hoary-head to the grave with blood, and ſaith *For thou art a wiſe man, and knoweſt what thou oughteſt to do unto*

1 *Sam.* 6. 5. & 19. 23.
1 *Reg.* 2. 19.

to him; and was not *David* so? Yes, and it was *wisdom* and *mercy* in *David*, at that time, to spare him; but now he tells *Solomon*, That when time serveth, it should be neither *wisdom* nor *policy* in him to spare him; but his *wisdom* should teach him to destroy him; because it is an old Axiom, that, *Qui malus est, in eodem genere mali, semper præsumitur esse malus*; and experience hath very often found it to be very true, that an oppressor, drunkard, or rebel, can as hardly leave his drunkenness, or rebellion, as an *Ethiopian can change his black skin, or a leopard his spots that are upon his back*, as saith the Prophet *Jeremy*.

Therefore *Solomon* tells him, that whensoever he goeth out of *Jerusalem*, he shall die: And at the end of three years, two of his servants ran away to *Gath*, and he, like an asse, sadleth his asse, and followeth after them; then *Solomon* tells him of his
V. 44. *wickedness* against *King David*, and commands *Benaiah* the son of *Jehoiada*, which fell upon him that he died.

V. 46. And then it is added in the text, *And the Kingdom was established in the hand of Solomon*. And was it not established before? yes, three full years at least: but never so *absolutely*, and so *surely*, as now this *old rebel* is taken away: For though he was the *first* that submitted himself to *King David*, yet it was very *likely*, or at least *suspicious*, that his malice and rebellistill *lurked* in his heart, as *fire* under the *ashes*, till they found opportunity to break out; and so it may be with all others the like rebels whatsoever.

And therefore if men will be *rebellious*, it is wisdom and po-
1 *Reg.* 2. 12. licy, for the establishment of *Kingdoms*, to keep Soldiers, and Garrisons, to keep them under, *in ore gladii*, till all the *old rebels* be quite destroyed and extinguished.

And if men complain of *burthens* and *taxes*, and *impositions*; let them blame themselves, and *those rebels* that caused them, and the rebellious dispositions of *them*, that may be justly suspected to be the *obstacles* of *peace*, and *tranquillity*.

But

But if they will needs charge our *good King* and the *Duke's Grace* for any fault, let them do it for their being *too mercyfull* and *milde*, in ſuffering them and others that are like them, to live, that had ſo *juſtly* deſerved to dye; and eſpecially if they would *ſuffer them* to enjoy the Lands of the *Church*, and the Poſſeſſions of them that are *innocent*.

3. The next *reigning* ſin, that ſpreads it ſelf amongſt men, is *injuſtice*: and I wiſh we would caſt our eyes behinde us, to ſee how God *hateth*, and hath *plagued* this *monſtrous vice*, which bringeth forth ſo many *pernicious* effects, and deſtroyeth all the *duties* of honeſty. The wiſe *Solomon* ſaith, *That oppreſſion maketh a wiſe man mad*; and *oppreſſion* is but one *branch* of injuſtice: and therefore *injuſtice* is far *worſe* then any *oppreſſion*. For if *juſtice* be ſuch a general virtue, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that he which hath it, hath all other virtues; then certainly, he that is *unjuſt* muſt be filled with an *huge heap of vices*, when as this is ſuch a *cardinal* ſin, as never walks alone. And therefore as *Juſtice exalteth a Nation*; ſo *Injuſtice tranſlateth a Kingdom from one Nation to another people*, as it did the Monarchy of the *Aſſyrians* unto the *Medes*, and that of the *Medes* and *Perſians* unto the *Grecians*. And it pulleth down the *wrath* and vengeance of God, not onely upon the *perſon* that is unjuſt, and doth *injuſtice*; but alſo upon the heads, many times, of *all his poſterity*: as, for the *Injuſtice* done to *Naboth*, God deſtroyed *Ahab*, and rooted out his whole off ſpring. And I could ſpend my whole hour in examples of this kinde, but I will content my ſelf with two or three. As,

3 Injuſtice.

Prov. 7. 7.

Ahab.

1. Of *Ferdinando* the fourth King of *Caſtile*, who did moſt *unjuſtly* condemn two Knights to death; and one of them cryed, "O thou unjuſt Judge, we do cite thee to appear "within thirty dayes before the Tribunal of *Jeſus Chriſt*, to "receive judgement for thine injuſtice; and ſo upon the laſt of thoſe days he dyed, to receive his ſentence according to his ſummons. And one *Lapparel*, a Provoſt of *Paris*, cauſed a poor man, that was priſoner in the *Chaſtilet*, to be executed by giving him the name of a rich man, who being guilty and con-

Ferdinando.

Lapparel.

condemned, was set at liberty in the place of the poor man: but the *just judgment* of God discovered his *injustice*, and being accused and condemned, he was hanged for his labour; and so *Philip* King of *Macedon* was killed by *Pausanias* a mean Gentleman, because he denied to do him justice against *Antipater* that had wronged him; and *Demetrius* for throwing the *petitions* of his subjects into the River, and denying to do them *justice* they all forsook him, and *Pyrrhus* took away his Kingdome. And many other men I could name to you, that their *injustice* hath undone them.

Philip Macedo. *Demetrius.*

And therefore all men should take heed of committing this horrible sin of *injustice*, either by doing wrong, or denying right unto others.

The injustice of some Judges.

And yet I am ashamed to *speak* it, though I shall not be affraid to *write* it, how *gravely* some Judges have sate upon the seat of *judgment* to pronounce *unrighteous* judgments, and think to cover all their *iniquity* with the fig-leaves of the *formalities* of their Lawes to overthrow the *reality* of justice.

Oh beloved, *Monstrum horrendum ingens est*, it is a most horrible thing to have *injustice done* from the *seat*, and from the *Ministers* of justice; when a man is *apparently* wronged, oppressed, and *expulsed out of house and home*, and shall with a deale of *travel* and a great deale of *expences* come to a *Court of justice* to be righted, and instead of being *redressed*, he shall see there *scelus sceleribus tectum*, his former wrongs *finely* handled and *loaded* with far *greater* wrongs. Do you think that this is *well pleasing* unto God, or that such *injustice* shall escape *unpunished*? no, no; for they shall finde that there is a God *which judgeth the earth*, and that his *judgment* will be according to *truth*, without *partiality*, either to *Jew* or *Gentile*, which here among men I see is not so.

But as I read that *Diogenes* seeing some *petty thieves* led to the place of execution *laughed exceedingly*, and being demanded *why* he laughed? he *answered* to see the *great thieves* lead the *little thieves* to the Gallowes: so if he should see men *forcibly expelled* out of their possessions, and the forcible entrers

trers *legally acquitted*, or if he ſhould ſee the *poor Iriſh Catholicks* driven out of houſe and home, either becauſe they were *Iriſh rebels* which juſtly deſerved it, or becauſe they were *Romiſh Catholicks*, which ſhould not therefore be deſtroyed; and ſhould ſee the *great Engliſh Sectaries* (that had been *greater* rebels) countenanced and *magnified*, and to injoy the *others* Lands and Livings: would he not *laugh* at this juſtice? which is juſt *like that* which we read of in *l.* 1. of *Philip Commines* when *Charelois* loſt the Feild, and his Captains, and their Troopers *fled away*, he gave the offices and *places* of them that fled *ten leagues* to thoſe that had fled *twenty leagues* beyond them.

Therefore I ſay to you, whom *God* and the *King* have made *Judges* of theſe things for the *ſettlement* of this Kingdome; As yourhave done hitherto, ſo ſtill *ride on with your honour* and have *no reſpect* of *Perſons*, nor of *Nation*, nor of *Religion*: but do that which is juſt *and righteous in the ſight of God*, and as God hath bleſt you and *preſerved* you hitherto, ſo he will ſtill *bleſs* you and *preſerve you for evermore.*

And for the preſervation of *better juſtice* then I ſee in *many* places, I ſhall ſpeak *more* of it in another place, and after *another manner*; for you may be ſure, that Kingdome ſhall never be *happy*, where oppreſsion is *frequently* uſed, and iniquity *protected* by *injuſtice*, and eſpecially by the *Courts of Juſtice*. And therefore to the end that true juſtice might be *truly* obſerved, I could wiſh the *Parliament* would make ſome Acts & Lawes againſt *many abuſes practiſed* by ſome *cunning Lawyers* in the very *Courts* of Juſtice; and eſpecially againſt the *frequent and abuſive quaſhing of Indictments*, which is a ſin of *no ſlender* malignity. For when a *poor man* far from the fountain is by *violence* oppreſſed, and he *indicts* his oppreſſors, then preſently comes a *Certiorari* and removes it to the Kings Bench, and there the Lawyers are ſo *skilfull* in the tricks and quiddities of the Law and the Caſes of *John A-Nokes* and *John A-Stiles*, that they ſay there can *hardly* be *any indictment* framed, but they are able to finde a *flaw* to quaſh it, which I was told by great Lawyers. And what a *wrong* is this to his

The abuſe of ſome cunning Lawyers in quaſhing of Indictments.

Majeſty

Majeſty in his fines? what an *injury* to the *poor men* that are oppreſſed, and what *incouragement* to all thoſe *wicked* men that are ſo *ready* to offer *all violence* unto their neighbours which are *not able* to indict the ſame offendors three or four times over, till they ſhall finde a man able to draw a *faultleſs* indictment.

And if this be not a *greivous greivance* worthy to be *redreſſed*, if you deſire the *preſervation* of juſtice, judge you. And therefore it were *good* that ſome *better* way were *deviſed* for the *framing* of Indictments or the not *quaſhing* of them ſo eaſily and ſo *frequently* as they are *reported* to be.

4. Sacriledge. 4. The laſt frequent ſin that I ſhall at this time deſire you to caſt your eyes behinde you, to behold Gods *deteſtation* of it, and his *puniſhments* that he poureth out upon the offenders, is *ſacriledge*, which is the taking away and with-holding of thoſe *Revennes* which God hath *appointed*, and godly men have *dedicated* for the maintenance of Gods ſervice, and the religion of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and ſo the *robbing* of God himſelf, both of his *honour* and *ſervice*: a ſin ſo *general*, that the cuſtome of it hath quite taken away the *ſenſe* of it, and men think it to be no ſin at all.

But I know what ſome may here ſay, that now I plead *mine own cauſe*.

1 Sam. 12. 3. I will briefly anſwer as *Samuel* did unto the people, and I ſay, that I *ſued* indeed for the *Church right*: but I teſtifie before *the Lord*, and your *Grace*, and you *All*, that I did it not to *inrich* my ſelf; for I thank God I have *enough* both for my ſelf and my *relation*, wife, children and friends: but I did it for the *right* of the Church, and I reſolved and vowed that whatſoever I *recovered*, I would by the *grace* of God *wholly* beſtow it upon the reparation of the Church; ſo that recovering it I ſhould be not *one penny* the richer, and looſing it, not *one penny* the poorer. And I deſired *nothing* but what I conceived to be the *right* of the Church, becauſe I know God loves not to be *honoured* with unjuſtly gotten goods.

But now finding that as the Prophet ſaith, *I have laboured in vain, and I have ſpent my ſtrength for nought*; and ſeeing the

the *partiality* and injuſtice of men, I will with *patience* ſubmit my ſelf to that *ſtrength* which is beyond my *ability* to oppoſe, and ſtudy to ſerve my God *another* way: becauſe I ſee that as *David* ſaith, *the ſons of Zervia are too ſtrong for me*, becauſe we that were *faithfull* to our King were *fleec'd* and bare-ſhorne, and left poor and *beggarly*, and they that ſerved the *Beaſt* and adheared to the *long Parliament*, and were *arrant rebels* againſt our late good King, have got all our *Lands* and our *Monies* to make *friends* withall, and to keep us ſtill under *hatches*: and ſo, though *nos fuimus Troes*, yet now they are the men, and without envy, let then enjoy their *proſperity*, ſo they forſake their *iniquity*, and repent them of their former *impiety*.

And ſo deſiring you to *bear* with this my *juſt defence*, I ſhall *proceed* in this diſcourſe, for none *other end* but to diſcharge mine own *duty*, and for the good of your *ſouls*, to avoid the *juſt wrath* of God for a ſin ſo *highly* diſpleaſing unto God; and to that purpoſe I ſhal deſire you to read the 2 *Mac.* c. 3. where you ſhall finde how that when *Simon* the *mutinous traitor* both to God and his Country, had informed *Seleucus* King of *Aſia*, of the riches and the treaſure of the *Church* of *Hieruſalem*, and incited him to ſeize upon it, and he had ſent *Heliodorus* his treaſurer to fetch it, and *Heliodorus* came like a Fox, pretending it was to viſit and to reform the diſorders of *Phœnice* and *Caloſyria*, but *Onias* the high Prieſt perceiving that the *goods* of the Church was his errand, his *countenance* was quite caſt down, and the people not enduring *ſacriledge*, ran ſome to the Temple, ſome to the City Gates, and ſome gadded up and down the ſtreets as frantick men, like *Bacchus* froes, and all lifted up their *hands* and *eyes* and *voices* unto God for the defence of his Church, and God *heard their cry and did help them*. For,

Heliodorus was no ſooner entred into the *treaſury*, to take away the ſpoile, but there appeared to him a *terrible man* in compleat armour of gold, mounted upon a barbed horſe that ran *very fiercely* at the Kings Treaſurer, and trampled him under-foot; and withall, there appeared two other men of moſt

excellent beauty and ſtrength, *whipping* him ſo, that he was carried out of the place *ſpeechleſs*, and without any hope of life, untill God reſtored him upon the *earneſt prayer* of the Prieſt and people.

Act. 5. 5. And to let you ſee how *dangerous* a ſin is *ſacriledge* to rob the Church, the end of *Ananias* and *Sapphira* can bear witneſs, for though their *death* was the puniſhment of their *lying*: yet all muſt grant they were drawn to that ſin by the cord of *ſacriledge*. And if a greedy deſire of *with-holding* that from the Church which themſelves had given, was ſufficient to open ſuch a window unto the Devil that he came preſently to caſt them as a prey to the Jaws of Hell; how many *foule ſins* do they commit, and how many greivous plagues may they fear to fall upon their heads, which *take away* from the Church, that which they never gave?

Gen. 47. 22. & *v.* 26. And you may remember, that when *Egypt* in the time of *Joſeph* felt ſo extreme a famine, that the *fifth part* of the Land was ſold to releive the Land; yet the *Patriarch* in all the care that he had both of the *Country* and of the *King*, to ſuccour the *one* and to enrich the *other*, never attempted the *ſale* of the Lands of the *Prieſts*, nor once to diminiſh any *jot* thereof. And if the *holy man* in ſo great an extremity, never ventured to take away the *poſſeſſions* of the *Idolatrous* Prieſts, though it were to the releif of a *whole Kingdome*, I wonder with what face dares any man in the world *curtal* the maintenance of Gods Church, and *take away* thoſe Lands and houſes that by *religious* Princes and other *pious* men have been conſecrated to Gods ſervice. But,

Fœlix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

You might be *happy*, if you would caſt your eyes *behinde you*, and by the *examples* of Gods judgments upon other *ſacrilegious perſons* learn to eſcape the *puniſhments* of ſacriledge, becauſe they are all written for our *inſtruction*. And we read that *Celce*, the Conſtable of *Gertrund* King of *Burgundy*, having, under the authority of the King his Maſter, *enriched* himſelf, and

and enlarged his *Territories* with the Goods and Lands of the Church, and being one day in the Church at his Devotion, and hearing the words of the Prophet, that preclaimed *a woe to them that joyn houſe to houſe, and land to land*, he ſuddainly *ſtricked* in the Congregation, and cried out, *This is ſpoken to me*, and this *curſe* is upon me and upon my Poſterity; and ſo afterwards died *moſt miſerably*. And we read in the Annals of *France*, that although *Lewis* the Sixt, ſurnamed the *Great*, was once the Protectour of the Church, and had cauſed the Count *de Claremont*, the Lord *de Rouſſi* and other great men, that had pillaged the Biſhopricks, to *reſtore* their robberies unto the Church again; yet in his old age when he began to pull the Church, he was ſufficiently *puniſhed* for it, by the ſuddain death of his Eldeſt Son, which was indeed the very ſtaffe of his age, though he was *urged* unto it with *extreme* neceſſity: They that would ſee *more examples* of this kinde, let them look into my *Declaration* againſt Sacriledge, and Doctor *Saravia's vindicia ſacra*, tranſlated into Engliſh by *James Adartyn*.

And if for all this, men will needs have the *portion* of Gods Church, let them eat it with that *ſauce*, which God hath preſcribed in *Pſal.* 83. and which like the leproſie of *Gehezi*, wil ſtick to *them* and their *Poſterity* for evermore.

3. As you heard that theſe Beaſts were *full of eyes within and behinde*; ſo they were *full of eyes before*: and ſo ſhould we be. And that is to behold and ſee.

3. Why theſe beaſts were full of eyes before.

1. *Præſentia*, the things that are preſent.
2. *Futura*, the things that are to come and muſt come.

1. For the *preſent* things I ſhall onely leave to your conſideration,

1. To behold the things that are preſent. As,
1. The vanity of all things.

1. The *vanities* of this life. And,
2. The *uncertainty* of our ſtate.

And touching the first, Saint *Augustine* saith most truly, *Si quid arrisisset prosperum, tadebat apprehendere; quia prius-quam pene teneretur, avolabat*, if any prosperous thing in this world did seem to *smile* and offer it self unto me, I was loath *to take it*, because that before I could *scarce* enjoy it, it was presently *snatched* from me. For,

1. *Friends* are like the waters of *Tema* sliding away, and turning as the *wheele* of your fortune turneth.

2. *Riches*, saith the wise man, *betake themselves to their wings as an Eagle*, and the sea can drown it, fire *consume* it, servants *waste* it, and thieves *bereave* us of it.

Prov. 23. 5. 3. *Honour* is but Vertues *shadow*, a winde that maketh fooles to *swell*, but cannot *satisfie* any wise man.

4. *Beauty* is such a thing, as the Daughters of Vanity can tell you that the Sun will *tanne* it, a scarr will *blemish* it, sickness *waste* it, and age *consume* it away, as we read fair *Helen* wept when she saw the *wrinckles* of her old face, which all your *black patches* cannot make young.

5. And for our *Health*, which is the greatest happiness in this life, we see mans body is subject to a *thousand diseases*, fraught with *frailties* within, wrapped in *miseries* without, uncertain of *life*, and sure of *death*.

And so *all* the things of this world are but like the Apples of *Sodome*, pleasant to the *eyes*, and provoking to the *appetite*; but vanishing into *smoak* when they are touched with the teeth.

And therefore our whole life is but *painted* over, as some Ladies do their faces, with *vain semblances* of Beauty and Pleasure; and it is attended on the *one side* with whole *troopes* of sorrows, sicknesses, wants and discontents; and on the *other side* with uncertainty of *continuance* and certainty of *dissolution*. And,

2. The uncertainty of our state. *Rom.* 9. 21. 2. For our *state*, all is in the hand of God, as the *clay* is in the hand of the Potter, who can of the same lumpe *make one vessel to honour*, *and another to dishonour*; and the Heathens conceived all was at the disposing of *fortune*, which they according to their ignorance, took for *God*, and said,

Te

——— *Te facimus fortuna Deam.*

When they ſaw that, as the Poet ſaith,

Una eademque manus vulnus opemque tulit:

The ſame hand that hath *caſt us down* can raiſe us up: and the ſame God that *raiſed* us to honour, can bring us *down* to the duſt; and can either *prolong* our dayes, or *cut* them off at his pleaſure.

And who then would not ſerve ſuch a Maſter, and be afraid to *offend* ſuch a Lord, as hath our *life*, our *wealth*, and our *woe* in his own hands and at his own diſpoſing? O conſider this *all you that forget God*, and think of it, leſt he take you away, and tear you all to pieces: or if this cannot move you to fear God. Then,

2. Caſt your eyes *before you*, to look unto the things that *are to come*, and muſt fall upon the world: and they are many, but *eſpecially* and inevitably theſe four. 2. To look unto the things that are to come.

1. *Death.*
2. *Judgement.*
3. *Heaven.*
4. *Hell.*

And theſe are *quatuor noviſſima & terribiliſſima*, the four *laſt* things, and the moſt *terrible* things that can be to all wicked men to think of them; and they may ſerve as four excellent *Preachers*, to diſſwade and terrifie all men from *evil*, and to call them continually to the *ſervice* of God. For the Son of *Syrach* ſaith, *Whatſoever thou takeſt in hand, remember the end, and thou ſhalt never do amiſſe.* And, *Eccleſ.* 7. 36.

1. *Death* makes an end of our life, and before it ſhuts the eyes of our bodies, it commonly openeth the eyes of our *conſciences*. And then every man ſhall ſee his *owne ſtate*, though he ſeldome or *never* thought of the ſame before. For, 1. Of death.

1. The

1. The state of the wicked.

1. The wicked man shall see *all his sins* set before his face, and *Satan* will now bestir himself to gain his *soul*; for he knoweth that *his turn is short*, and therefore he will tell him, that if he would have entred into life, *he should have kept the commandments*, that not the hearers, but *the doers of the Law shall be justified*, that if the just shall scarce be saved, *where shall he*, being such a wicked wretch as he is, *appear*? when as the Apostle tells him plainly, that neither *adulterer*, *nor fornicator*, *nor covetous person*, *nor the like*, Traytor, Rebel, Perjurer, or such other, *shall inherit the kingdome of God*: and so what the Preachers of God now cannot *beat* into the thoughts of these careless men, this damned spirit will then irremovably *settle* in their deepest considerations.

Revel. 12. 12.

Rom. 2. 13.

1 *Cor.* 6. 9, 10.

O then what *agonies* and perplexities will tear the wofull hearts of these wicked men? *In that day* (saith the Lord) *I will cause the Sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day, I will turn their feasts into mournings, and their songs into lamentations*, that is, I will make *all those things* that were wont *most sweetly* to delight them, now most of all to *torment* them; for now that *pleasure* which they had of sin, shall turn to be as *bitter* as gall, when they do see, that as the Father saith, *transit jucunditas non reditura, & manet anxietas non peritura*, and now they must die, and live they can no longer; and Satan, whose *will* they did, and whose *wayes* they followed all their life, will not *forsake* them at their death, but will say, *Me* you have served, and *from me* you must expect your wages.

Amos 8. 9, 10.

For so we read, that the Devil assailed some of the *best Saints*, as Saint *Martin*, Saint *Bernard*, *Ignatius*, *Eusebius*, and others; and if these things be done *in a green tree*, what shall be done *in a withered*, saith our Saviour? If he be so busie about the *Saints*, what will he do to *sinners*? And this is the *state* of a wicked man at his dying day. But,

2. The state of the godly.

2. In the death of the *godly* it is not so; for having served God all his life, *he hath hope in his death*: and he knoweth not whom he needs to fear, because he knoweth whom he hath believed: and when his body is weakest his faith is strongest: and

Prov. 14. 32.

2 *Tim.* 1. 12.

and therefore with Saint *Paul*, he deſires to be diſſolved, and he longs for death, that he may be with him which was dead, and is alive, and liveth for evermore: and he is well contented, that his body ſhall go to the grave, that his ſoul may go to glory: and that his fleſh ſhall ſleep in the duſt, that his ſpirit may rejoyce in heaven. And this is the ſtate of the godly man at the day of his death.

And therefore, if men would ſeriouſly conſider this before they come to this, then certainly the fear of the moſt fearful death of the wicked, and the love of the moſt comfortable death of the godly, would make them to have ſome care of a Godly life, and to repent them of their wickedneſs. And therefore well did *Moſes*, and we with *Moſes*, wiſh, that men would *conſider their latter end*. And yet this is not the end of all; for after death comes judgement. And ſo,

Secondly, This judgement is either

{ 1 Particular, or
{ 2 General

2 Judgment and that two fold.

1. As ſoon as ever the ſoul is parted from the body, before the body is laid in the grave, the ſoul of the wicked is fetched by the Devils, and carried into the place of torments, and the ſoul of the godly is received by the Angels into *Abrahams* boſom, as our Saviour ſheweth moſt plainly in the ſtory of *Dives* and *Lazarus*. And *Luke* 16. 22, 23.

1. Particular.

2 Becauſe the whole world, both of men and Angels might ſee and approve the *juſt judgement* of God; and that the whole man, both body and ſoul might receive the full reward of their due deſerts, the Lord hath appointed a day, ſaith the Apoſtle, *in the which he will judge the world in righteouſnes*, *Act.* 17 31. that is, by *Jeſus Chriſt*.

2. General.

And this is that day, which Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and all the faithful preachers of Gods word, would have all men always to remember, and to ſet it before their eyes. For ſo Saint *Hierom* ſaith, *Whatſoever I doe*, whether I eat or drink

or

or whatsoever else I am about, me thinks I hear that *dolefull voice* of the Arch-angel sounding in mine eares, and saying, *surgite mortui & venite ad judicium*, arise you dead, and come to judgement, saith the Holy Father, *I tremble all my body over*; and so *Felix*, though he was but a *Heathen*, trembled, as Saint *Paul* reasoned of righteousnes, temperance, and judgement to come. And so indeed, it should make any heart to tremble, that would seriously consider but these two things.

Act. 24.25.

Two things to be considered concerning this judgment.

{ 1 The *manner* of Christ his coming
2 The *terror* of his proceeding } For,

First in that day, there shall be signs in the Sun, and in the Moon, and in the Stars, The Sun shall be *darkned*, the Moon shall not give *her light*, the Stars shall fall from the *skies*, and all the powers of heaven shall be moved, the Elements shall be dissolved with *heat*, and the earth shall be consumed with fire.

Whereby you may see, what a *dreadful* thing is sin; for what have these *senseless creatures* deserved, that they should be thus severely punished, and thus travel in *sorrow* and *pain*, but because they rose not up against us, when we rose up against God? He will therefore fight against them, because they did not fight against us, when we doe fight against him. And what a fearful contagion of sin is this, that subjecteth the *very heavens* unto vanity? And therefore most wretched are we, in whom dwelleth nothing else but heaps of sin and iniquity. But to go on.

The distress of Nations how great.

Then the distress of nations shall be great, and men shall *wither* away for fear (saith our Saviour) for when *destruction* shall be dispatched as a *whirlwind*, and God shall burn the earth, as *Holophernes* did the Countrey of *Damascus*, what fears think you, shall then affright the *hearts* of men, and what heapes of perturbations shall run upon the *damned* sort, when they shall see all these things playing their last act upon the fiery stage of this world.

And

And then they ſhall ſee the ſon of man cloathed with the clouds, as with a garment, riding upon the heavens, as upon an horſe, and coming *flying*, as upon the wings of the wind, *in the glory of his father with his Angels*; and what manner of glory is that? The glorious manner of Chriſt his coming.

Moſes tells you, that the Lord our God, *is a God of Gods*, and a Lord of Lords, *a great God, mighty and terrible*, that accepteth no perſon, nor taketh reward: and *Daniel* deſcribing the great Majeſty of God, ſaith, *that his garments were as white as ſnow, the haires of his head like the pureſt wool, his throne like the fiery flame, and his wheeles like burning fire: and there iſſued forth a fiery ſtream and went out from before him; a thouſand thouſands miniſtred unto him, and ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtood before him.* And it is recorded of the Angels, that *one* of them ſlew all the firſt-born of *Egypt* in *one* night, and that another of them made ſuch a havock in the army of the *Aſſyrians*, that, *a hundred foureſcore and five thouſand of them* were all ſlain in *one* night, and were laid on the ground, as corn by a ſickle. Deut. 10. Dan. 7. 9, 10.

And if *one Angel* could do ſuch Tragick feates, what ſhall become of the enemies of God, and wicked men when Chriſt like a man of warr ſhall buckle his harneſs unto his ſide, and come *in the glory of his Father*, with ſo many myriads of heavenly Angels attending him? The great power of the Angels.

Euſebius Emyſenus demandeth, *Si talis & tantus ſit terror venientis, quis poterit terrorem ſuſtinere judicantis?* if his coming be ſuch and ſo terrible, who ſhall be able to endure the terror of his judgement? And if the *Iſraelites* durſt not abide his Majeſty, when he came to deliver the Law, how ſhall the wicked abide and ſtand before him, when he cometh to render vengeance unto them, for tranſgreſsing his Lawes?

And yet they muſt endure it, And it will be very terrible unto them. For

2. *In that day* (ſaith our Saviour) He, *i. e.* God ſhall ſend *his Angels* with the ſound of *Trumpets*, and with a *mighty cry*, to raiſe the dead, and to gather together the *Elect* from

the four windes, and from the *one end of the world* to the *other*, and to bring *all men* before the judgment seat of Christ; for *I have sworn by my self*, saith the Lord, *the word is gone out of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return*, that *every knee shall bow unto me*, and not one man shall be *hidden* from my presence. Alas beloved, if all the bodies of *one Army* did lie *naked* upon *one heap*, what a *ruthfull* sight would it make? And what a *spectacle* then will that be, when so many *myriads* of men, like the *sand of the Sea*, shall stand *quaking* and *trembling* before the face of Christ? For,

Esay. 45. 23.

How the wicked shall be encompassed with miseries.

Then their *eyes* shall be *opened*; and what shall the *wicked* see, but all things crying *vengeance* against them, for *above them* shall be an *angry* Judge, *beneath them* Hell like a *boyling furnace*, ready to receive them, on the *right hand* their *sins* accusing them, on the *left hand* the *devils* ready to torment them, *within* them a guilty conscience like *Promethens* vulture, *continually* gnawing them, without them all *damned* souls bewailing, and on *every side* the world burning.

How Satan will now play his part.

O good God, what will these *wicked* wretched sinners do, being thus *enclosed* with such miseries? how can their *hearts* sustain these *anguishes*? Our Saviour tells us that they shall cry to the *Mountains*, that they would *fall upon them*, and so *hide* them from the *face of Christ*, but that cannot be; for then *Satan* will begin to play his part, and say, not *bone Deus*, O good God, to move him to *clemency*, but *juste Judex*, O just Judge, to sharpen him to *severity*: though these *wretched* men were thine by *creation*, yet now they are mine by *transgression*, and though thou hast *suffered* for them, yet I have *beguiled* them, for they have forsaken *sacramenta tua*, thy holy sacraments, and they have followed *blandimenta mea*, my wicked allurements, they would not be *perswaded* by thy *Preachers*, but they would needs *follow* their own *pleasures*.

And therefore, O thou *just Judge*, seeing they *belong* unto me, let them ev'n be *condemned* with me. So he that before seemed to be an *Angel of light*, is now become a *Devill of darkness*; he that inticed them to *all vanities*, will now bring them

them to *all miſeries*; and he that *in paradiſe* would make them *like Gods*, doth now prove that he made them *like devils*: And ſo now he ſheweth himſelf to be *a devil indeed*, and never *ſo much a devil* as now, or rather he ſeemeth now to become a Saint, becauſe now he calls for *juſtice*.

How wrathfully Chriſt will look upon the wicked.

Then the Lord will *look upon* them; but how ſhall they be able *to endure his looks?* for fire is *kindled in his wrath*, and it ſhall burne to the *bottome of Hell*; out of his mouth *goe lamps*, and ſparks of fire *leap out*; out of his noſtrils cometh *ſmoak*, as out of a *boyling Caldron*; his countenance will be *ſo grim*, his lips *ſo burning*, and his face *ſo full of indignation*, that the *very Saints* will be *afraid of his looks*, and *holy Job* crieth out, *who ſhall hide me untill the anger of God paſſeth over?* or as our laſt Tranſlation hath it, *O that thou wouldſt hide me in the grave, that thou wouldſt keep me ſecret until thy wrath be paſt?* and the Prophet *Malachy* demandeth, *who may abide the day of his coming*, and *who ſhall ſtand when he appeareth?* for he is like a *refiners fire* which is the quinteſſence of fire, and like a *Fullers ſope* which ſcoureth all things to the uttermoſt, and leaves no filth behinde it: and therefore how ſhall the wicked abide his looks? and if not his looks, how ſhall they *abide his words?* For now they ſhall hear that *fearfull ſentence* pronounced againſt them, *I lictor, liga manus*, goe *Satan* thou *executioner, binde thoſe Kings in fetters, & thoſe Nobles with links of iron*, and goe *ye all*, or *depart ye accurſed into everlaſting fire prepared for the devil and his angels*; and then they ſhall be adjudged to be caſt *into utter darkneſs*, where ſhall be *weeping and gnaſhing of teeth*. This is the *doom* of the *ungodly*.

Job. 14. 13.

Malach. 3. 2.

Pſ. 149. 8.

Matth. 25. 41.

How Chriſt will look upon the righteous men that ſerved him.

But upon the *righteous*, and thoſe *godly* men that *ſerved him*, he will look with ſuch an *amiable* and *chearful countenance* that the very ſight of it will *baniſh* away their *fear*, and *repleniſh* their hearts with *joy and gladneſs*; and he will ſay unto them, *come ye bleſſed of my father*, you have walked in *my wayes*, you were carefull of *my ſervice*, you have ſuffered for *my ſake*, and you have relieved and comforted my *poor members*; therefore be you cloathed *in white robes*, and receive the *Kingdome* which was prepared for you *before the beginning*

ginning of the world. And this is the sentence of their *absolution*,

Well then, if we were like *these Beasts* full of eyes *before*, to *look*, and to consider of *these things* now, before they come to pass, would it *no whit* move us to seek for the waies of *godliness?* if not, I would they *that regard it not*, would look a *little further* and behold *Gehinnon*, the place where they shall be carried to be *tormented.* For,

3. The torments of the wicked in Hell.

3. The *wicked* being as I told you before, *adjudged* by God to receive their *doom* according to their *desert*, they shall be *forthwith* carried by the *devils* into a Lake or darksome Vault that is in the *midst* of the earth, and which burneth *with fire and brimstone for evermore.* And there in that Lake their musick shall be *horrours* and howlings, their meat shall be *balls of fire*, their drink shall be *fountains of tears* distilling down *alwayes* from their eyes, their torments shall be *intolerable*, their time *endless*, and their companions *devils*: for as Saint *Augustine* saith, *In inferno nec tortores deficient, nec torti miseri morientur, sed per millia millia annorum cruciandi, nec tamen in secula liberandi*, In Hell the tormentors shall never *fail*, nor *faint* to punish, nor the miserable wretches *ever die*, but for *thousand thousands* of years punished and *never* to be delivered; *quia ibi erit semper velle quod nunquam erit*, and *semper nolle quod nunquam non erit*, for there shall be *a will never satisfied*, and a nill never *gratified*; never enjoying the *ease they would*, and ever suffering the *pains they would not* And if you dive into the *depth* of that *doleful Tragedy* of miserable *Dives*, you shall see this *truth* more fully confirmed. But,

Aug. de tempore serm. 55.

Isidorus de summo bono, The perpetuity of their miseries.

4. The joyes of Heaven.

4. On the *other side*, if you cast your *eyes* on the joyes of *Heaven*, you shall finde that *neither eye hath seen, nor eare heard, nor heart of man* can conceive how *inestimable* and unexpressable it is: for there our *bodies* shall be freed from all *sorrowes*, and all *teares* shall be wiped away from our eyes: and our *mindes* shall be *satisfied* with all the good that can be *desired*; for if thou wouldst have riches, *riches and plenteousnes are in his house*; if thou wouldst have pleasure, *in his*

presence

preſence is fulneſs of joy, and at his right hand there is pleaſure for evermore; if thou wouldſt have *life*, *he giveth thee a long life, even for ever and ever*; and in brief, there is a freedome from all *evil*, and a full fruition of all *good things*. Moſt *happy* are they that ſhall be there.

And ſo you have heard of the *four things* that are *before* us, and that are ſo *imminent*, hanging over our heads, that we do not know *how ſoon* they may fall upon us. And therefore we ſhould be *full of eyes before us*, that we might alwayes look *for the coming* of them *before* they come, that *when they come*, they may come to our *comfort*; for either the *continual conſideration* of theſe things will keep us from the *wayes of wickedneſs*, or we are paſt all *hope* of true happineſs, and we may be pitied but not helped.

And therefore let us all moſt *earneſtly* and humbly pray to God to grant us *theſe eyes* with theſe *beaſts*, continually to *behold* and to conſider all *theſe things*, that we may eſcape the dreadful doom of the wicked, and attain to *everlaſting* happineſs through Jeſus Chriſt our bleſſed Lord and *onely* Saviour, to whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit be aſcribed all *honour* and *glory* for ever and ever. Amen.

THE

THE FOURTH

SERMON.

REVEL. 4. 8.

And they rest not, or, *ceased not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.*

AFTER that the holy *Evangelist* had described these Beasts, he sets down their practice, and the exercise that they used. Touching which, we are to consider,

1. Their *Constancy*, *They ceased not*, or *rest not day and night.*
2. Their *Harmony*, saying, *Holy, holy, holy*, &c.

The which *Harmony* consisteth of six special parts. That is,

1. The mystery of the *Trinity* of persons, in the *Unity* or *one essence* of the Deity.

2. The

2. The ſanctity, purity, and equity of God, in the word ἅγιος.
3. The power, authority, and dominion of God, in the word κύριος.
4. The knowledge, ſight, and providence of God, in the word Θεὸς.
5. The ſtrength and omnipotence of God, in the word παντοκράτωρ.
6. The continuance and eternity of God, in the words ὁ ἦν, ὁ ὢν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

And theſe ſix Points cannot well and fully be explained by any humane wit; they all and every one of them being, as God is, ineffable and incomprehenſible.

And therefore (as *Syneſius* ſaith) as the Geographers uſe to draw the great *Univerſe* and *Compaſs* of the world in a little *Map*; ſo I can ſpeak and expreſs but very little of theſe great and unſpeakable Attributes of the great God.

1. For their *conſtancy* in the ſervice of God, it is ſaid, they *ceaſed not day nor night* to ſing this *heavenly* harmony, ſaying, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God, &c.* and it was not wearieſome unto them *continually* to praiſe his *glorious* Names, but it was rather their whole *joy* and felicity to glorifie their God, and *to magnifie him for ever*; for they are ſo ſatisfied with the ſight of his preſence, the *beatical Viſion* of God, and ſo raviſhed with the *love* of his *Majeſty*, that they can never *leave* to praiſe him.

And this ſhould teach all the *Saints* of God to be like theſe beaſts, and to do the like; to be *never weary* of well doing, but to be like King *Therons* Horſes, that, as *Pindarus* ſaith, were never weary of running; ſo ſhould the Servants of God be never weary of ſerving God, but to continue *conſtant* in the performance of the duties of their profeſſion, night and day without ceaſing; becauſe, as St. *Bernard* ſaith, *Abſque perſeverantia, nec qui pugnat victoriam, nec victores palmam conſequuntur*, without perſeverance and *continuance* in well doing; neither can they that *fight* obtain the victory, nor

Bern. Epiſt. 129.

nor the *Victors* get the Garland of honour for to triumph: And St. *Augustine* saith, He doth not *truly* believe in Christ that doth not continue *constant* in his profession unto the end; *Quia credere vere, est credere inconcusse, firme, stabiliter, fortiter, ut jam ad propria non redeas & clam relinquas*: because that to believe truly is to believe without wavering, firmly and strongly, so that you return not to your carnal and worldly desires, and leave the things of Jesus Christ.

Aug. tract. 106. in Joh.

And therefore the Prophet *David*, describing the *blessed* man, saith, He will not only withhold himself from *walking in the counsel of the ungodly*, and from *standing in the way of sinners*, and from *sitting in the seat of the scornful*; but his delight is also *in the Law of the Lord*, and in his Law *will he exercise himself both day and night*; and so the Lord saith unto *Joshua*, Let not this Book of the Law *depart out of thy mouth*, but *meditate therein both day and night*, that thou mayst *observe* and *do all* according to that is written therein.

Psal. 1. 1, 2.

Whereby you may see, that perseverance and continuance in Gods service, and preferring the duties of our calling, is not to be done by fits, but alwayes, and especially without ceasing, without apostacy; which is *Temerarius à statu fidei vel religionis recessus*, a starting aside like a *broken bow* from that faith, obedience and profession, that we have *formerly* made.

Alexand. Hal. secund. 2. in tract. de apostat

How men elapse from their duties.

And such a one was *Ammonius Alexandrinus* the Master of *Origen*, that being bred a *Christian* from his childhood, and applying himself wholly to *Philosophy*, did quite *forsake* the orthodoxal Faith. And so *Ecebolius* at the first was a *zealous* Christian, and in the reign of *Julian* a great persecutor of the Christians, and after his death he became a Christian again, and for his apostacy cried out, and casting himself to the ground at the Church-porch, said, *Calcate me salem insipidum*: O tread upon me as upon unsavoury salt.

Socrat. l. 3. c. 13.

And how many men have we, that, like *Ecebolius*, were very loyal and *faithful* Subjects and good Protestants in the time of *Charles* the first: and when they saw the power of the

the Parliament *increaſing*, they became *arrant Rebels* and Traytors againſt their King, and *amphibolous* in their Religion; and within a while, when God did cut in pieces that *gordian* knot, and ſcattered thoſe Rebels like a ſummers Cloud, Who ſeem *more faithful* to *Charles* the ſecond then theſe Schollers of *Ecebolius*, that ever whirled with the *ſtrongeſt* wind? and yet they do not with *Ecebolius* fall down to the earth, and cry out with him in true repentance, *Calcute nos ſalem inſipidum*: but moſt of them jet it up and down in *pride*, and ſhew themſelves rather like the *Boruſſians*, that being perſwaded by *Boleſlaus Criſpus* King of *Poland*, to imbrace the *Chriſtian* faith, within a while after *renounced* the ſame, and told their Prince, *Se omnia ejus imperata, excepta religione, facturos*, they would be obedient to him in all things, but only in the *profeſſion* of his Religion: for ſo theſe men profeſs themſelves now, to be *good Subjects*, but they cannot endure our *Eccleſiaſtical* diſcipline, and our *Church*-ſervice.

What the *Boruſſians* did. *Cromerus lib. 6.*

And therefore ſeeing many men do relapſe with the *Boruſſians* from the *true* profeſſion of faith, or ſerve God by *fits*, like thoſe that are taken with the fits of an *Ague*, or be like the *Laodiceans*, neither *hot* nor *cold*: and that we ought to be like *theſe beaſts*, ſerving God, and diſcharging our duties *without ceaſing*; it behoveth us to preach *in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon*, and to do as we are *required* by the Lord himſelf, *Cry aloud, & ne ceſſes*, and give not over, but *lift up thy voice like a trumpet*, and *ſhew my people their tranſgreſſions, and the houſe of Jacob their ſins*; that is, as well the great ſins of the great men, and the nobility of the houſe of *Jacob*, as the ordinary ſins and tranſgreſſions of the common people. Eſay 58. 1.

And becauſe I know no ſins that are greater, and more pernicious to the publick good, and ſo deſtructive both to the Church and Commonwealth, as *Rebellion*, *Sacriledge*, and *Injuſtice*; for that Rebellion, *Turbabit fœdera mundi*, ſhakes the foundations, and ruinates whole Kingdomes; and Sacriledge is the deſtruction of all Religion: when as the Which are the great ſins, that do moſt miſchief.

Job 1. 19. Judges 16. 29. & 30.

props and pillars of *Job*'s house, and so of the *Philistines* also, being taken away, the houses presently *fell*; so the maintenance of Religion, and the revenues of the Church, being the only outward props and pillars of Religion, *Sublatis his religio perit*, when you take away these, you may shake hands with your Religion, and your Churches shall be, as they are in most places here in *Ireland*, weeping and wailing for want of roofs, which is the fruit of Sacriledge; of which I may truly say, as St. *Hierom* doth against *Vigilant*. *Fatebor dolorem meum, sacrilegium tantum patienter audire non possum*, in *Epist.* 53. *ad Riparium*: And Injustice, especially when it proceedeth from the Seat, and from the Courts of Justice, and the Judges of the Law, destroyeth all the duties of honesty, and overthroweth all civil Societies, and causeth Kingdomes to be translated from one Nation to another People; as that of the *Assyrians* was to the *Medes* and *Persians*; that of the *Persians* unto the *Grecians*; that of the *Grecians* unto the *Romans*; and that of the *Romans* unto the *Gothes* and *Vandals*, when their Judges became corrupt, and the companions of thieves, as the Prophet *Esay* speaketh.

The Authors resolution.

And therefore as I hate and abhorr these sins above all other publick sins whatsoever, so for *Sion* sake I will not hold my peace; I cannot choose, nor cease to cry out against all Rebels, and Church-robbers, and unjust Judges, until they do cease to commit these sins, or my mouth be filled with dust; but while I am able to utter forth my voice, or have means to prosecute my purpose, I will never desist, but do the uttermost of my power to hinder any man that hath been a Rebel, and fought under the great *Antichrist*, and the grand Usurper *Cromwell*, against that gratious King whom they have murdered, to hold the Revenues of the Church, and to obstruct the Service of *Jesus Christ*; because, like these beasts, we ought to be as Lions, and to do our duties without fear, without ceasing, and to do it, as my Text saith these beasts did it, *day and night*. And this phrase may admit a double exposition; and that is,

How to serve God day and night may be two wayes interpreted.

1. In

1. In the ſun-ſhine of knowledge and the glorious light of the Goſpel, ſignified by the day; or in the glimmering light of the Moon, and darkſome ignorance of ſuperſtition, ſignified by the night, they ceaſed not, and gave not over to praiſe God, and to ſerve him to the utmoſt of their abilities. 1. Interpretation.

And they that do ſo, God will accept of their faithful ſervice and praiſes of him in their invincible ignorance, and the night time of ſuperſtition, far better then the proud contempt and careleſs neglect of our duties in the height of our knowledge, and the clear day-light of the Goſpel, when men know their Maſters will and do it not: in which caſe St. *Auguſtines* judgement is moſt certain, that *Melior eſt fidelis ignorantia quam temeraria ſcientia*, their zealous ignorance will find more favour at the hands of God, then the others careleſs and fruitleſs knowledge, unleſs it be the fruits of ſin and iniquity. And therefore I doubt not, but our Forefathers, that lived in the dayes of ignorance and ſuperſtition, and in their zeal built the Churches of God, and endowed them with maintenance for Gods ſervice, will riſe in judgement againſt our *Gnoſticks*, that in the abundance of knowledge do overthrow the Churches, and ſuppreſs the ſervice of God, and withal rob Chriſt of his garment, to give it, you know to whom the Evangeliſt ſaith it fell by lot, I hope we will not do the like. Faithful ignorance preferred before proud and fruitleſs knowledge.

2. This their not ceaſing to praiſe God day and night, may be underſtood of their conſtancy and perſeverance in the faith and the ſervice of God, both in proſperity and adverſity; the Day ſignifying the joyous time of our proſperity, and the Night ſignifying the ſad and grievous times of our adverſity. 2. Interpretation.

And there have been alwayes too too many men, that as the *Jews* followed *Chriſt*, not becauſe they ſaw his miracles, but becauſe they did eat of the loaves and were fil'ed, ſo do they freely praiſe God, while their Corn, and Wine, and Oyl increaſeth: and, as the Devil falſly ſaid of *Job*, while God doth make an hedge about them, and about their houſes, and How many men uſe to ſerve God. John 6. 26. Pſal. 48. Job 1. 10.

and about all that they have on every ſide, and bleſſeth the work of their hands, and their ſubſtance is increaſed in the land; they will *ſerve the Lord*; and yet, as the Lord complaineth of them, *In tempore tribulationis recedunt à me*, when God putteth forth his *hand* and toucheth all that they have, to *try* them, as he tried *Abraham*; then will they *ſtart aſide* like a broken bow, *deny* their faith, and be ready to curſe God to his face.

Our Presbyterians like the Apoſtata's under the firſt perſecutions.

And ſuch were the *Apoſtata's* in the time of the *firſt* ten perſecutions, and our *Presbyterians* in the time of our late King *Charles*: for while they enjoyed their *livings*, they were right *Epiſcopal* men, but when *deprivation* and perſecution came, they will have none of that, but will rather change both their *Coat* and their *Calling*, then ſerve God *rightly* in that adverſity, and that is to ſerve him and praiſe him in the *day* of our fulneſs, and not in the *night* that is full of dangers.

But all the *true Saints* of God will with theſe *beaſts* never ceaſe to ſerve him and praiſe him as well in the *night* of adverſity as in the *beſt dayes* of their proſperity; yea, though they ſhould be driven to *wander* like thoſe ſpoken of by the Apoſtle, *in ſheep-skins* and *Goat-skins*, being *deſtitute*, *afflicted* and *tormented*; for they are *reſolved*, as the ſame Apoſtle ſpeaketh, that neither *tribulation*, nor *diſtreſs*, nor *perſecution*, *nor famine*, nor *nakedneſs*, nor *peril*, nor *ſword*, nor *any other creature*, ſhall ſeparate them *from the love of Chriſt*, or cauſe them *to ceaſe* from the ſervice of God *day* or *night*; and ſuch is the reſolution of all Gods *faithful* ſervants, which makes them to be as *bold* as lions, to fear no man and no danger.

Heb. 11. 37.

Rom. 8. 35.

And ſo much for the firſt part of the practice of theſe beaſts, which is their *conſtancy* in the ſervice of God day and night.

2. Of the harmony of theſe beaſts.

2. For the *harmony* of theſe beaſts, I told you that it conſiſted of ſix parts, whereof the firſt is concerning the *myſtery* of the Trinity.

Touching

Touching which, before I proceed any further, I muſt ſay with St. *Auguſtine*, *Ubi trinitas unitatis & unitas trinitatis, Patris, Filii & Spiritus Sancti quæritur, nec periculoſius alibi erratur, nec laborioſius aliquid quæritur, nec fructuoſius aliquid invenitur*; we cannot any where *erre* more *dangerouſly*, we cannot *ſeek* for any thing more *laborioufly*, neither can we *find* any thing more *profitable* then the *knowledge* of this holy myſtery; and therefore, as he ſaith, *Non pigebit me ſicubi heſito quærere, nec pigebit me ſicubi erro diſcere*, it irketh me not to *inquire* where I ſtumble, neither will I be aſhamed to *retract* and to *learn* where I erre. And ſo to proceed.

Aug. de Trin. lib. 1.

Of the true knowledge of the myſtery of the bleſſed Trinity.

The holy Evangeliſt in this *harmony* of theſe beaſts ſetteth down theſe two principal things.

Two things ſet down.

1. The *Trinity* of Perſons in the *Unity* of Gods Eſſence.
2. The *Unity* of Gods Eſſence in the *Trinity* of Perſons.

1 Of the Trinity of Perſons.

For the firſt, To declare the *Trinity* of perſons, the Evangeliſt ſaith, theſe beaſts cry three times, *Holy, holy, holy*, as if they ſhould have ſaid, *Holy Father, holy Son*, and *holy Spirit*; and yet they ſay not, *holy Gods*, but holy God; and to ſhew the ſame truth, the very phraſe and loquution, or the like manner of expreſſing this myſtery, is uſed in *divers* places of the holy Scripture; as where *Moſes* ſaith, *Creavit Elohim cœlum et terram*, God created the heaven and the earth; where the *Verb* ſingular *creavit*, doth manifeſtly declare the *unity* of Gods Eſſence, and the *Noun* plural *Elohim*, doth as plainly ſhew the *Trinity* of perſons. And again, where he ſaith, *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem noſtram*, let us make man in our Image; where the *Verb* plural *faciamus*, declareth the *plurality* of the Perſons, and the *Pronoun* ſingular, *noſtram* ſheweth the *unity* of the Eſſence: even ſo here, the word *ſanctus* three times repeated doth manifeſtly declare the *Trinity* of perſons; and the word *Deus*, God in the ſingular number, doth as plainly ſhew the *unity* of Gods Eſſence.

And

And so the *whole sum* of all is,

That God is but one Essence and three persons.

1. *Quod Deus sit unus quoad essentiam*, that God is one, and but one, in respect of his Essence.
2. *Quod Deus sit trinus, quoad subsistentiam*, that in the *Unity* of that *Essence* there are three *Persons* in respect of their *subsistence* or manner of being.

Deut. 6. 4. Matth. 28, 29.

And this will appear most evidently, if you do compare together the 6. of *Deut.* and the 4. *ver.* and the 28. of St. *Matthew* and the 19. *ver.* For in the *former* place it is said, *Dominus Deus tuus Deus unus est*, the Lord thy God is one God; and in the *later* place, our Saviour commandeth his Disciples to go and to baptize all Nations, *in the Name* (and not in the *names*) *of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost*; therefore there is a *Trinity* of persons, that is, the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost in the divine Nature, *Et una est numero essentia*, and yet there is but one Essence; because no diversity can be given, whereby these persons differ in regard of the Essence.

And therefore in regard of this *identity* and unity of *essence* in the three Persons, our Saviour said, *Ego sum in patre, et Pater est in me*, I am in the Father, and the Father is in me; and yet, as St. *Cyril* saith, *Non est dicendum, Pater est à filio, vel in filio continetur*, we may not say, the Father is from the Son, or contained in the Son, *Nec est filius in patre, ut nos in Deo esse et vivere dicimur*, Neither is the Son in the Father, as we are said to be, and to live in God: *Quia de ejus essentia non sumus*, because we are not of the *essence* of God, but in and by the *vertue, grace* and *power* of God.

About the name of Trinity.

But here it may be some will demand, from whence have we the name of *Trinity*, when as we cannot find the same in all the Scripture?

I answer, that we have the word *three* from whence the word *Trinity* is derived, for St. *John* saith, *There be three that bear witness in heaven*; and therefore as *unity* is derived,

ab

ab uno, from one, ſo *Trinity* may as juſtly be derived from *three*; and the Church of God, *Penes quam uſus et forma loquendi*, to whom the phraſes and forms of ſpeech are committed, hath power to uſe ſuch words as may beſt expreſs the Truth, and confute the Hereticks, ſo the ſame be not contrary to the ſenſe and meaning of the holy Scriptures.

The difference betwixt the Eſſence of God and the Perſons in the Godhead.

Now the difference between *eſſence* and *perſon*, is this, that the *eſſence* is the *nature*, which is indiviſible and *common* to the three Perſons: but a perſon, *Eſt ſubſiſtentia in natura divina*, as the Schools ſpeak, a ſubſiſtence, or the manner of the perſons ſubſiſting, in the divine Nature; when the one perſon is diſtinguiſhed from the others: diſtinguiſhed; I ſay, and not divided, becauſe there is no diviſion in the divine Nature.

The difference betwixt each Perſon and the others twofold.

And the difference betwixt each Perſon is twofold.

1. Internal: and 2. External.

1. Difference internal.

1. The internal difference between the Perſons is and conſiſteth in their internal operations and proprieties, whereof the Divines ſay, that *Opera Trinitatis ad intra ſunt diviſa*, The internal operations of the Trinity are ſevered and divided; becauſe, as St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Hoc eſt proprium patris quod ſolus eſt pater, et quod ab alio non eſt niſi à ſeipſo*, It is proper to the Father, that he only is Father, and that he is not from any other but from himſelf: *Et hoc eſt proprium filii, quod de patre genitus eſt, ſolus à ſolo, coæternus et conſubſtantialis genitori*, And it is the property of the Son, that he is begotten of the Father, the Son alone from the Father only, coeternal and conſubſtantial to his begetter, *Et proprium eſt Spiritus ſancti, quod nec genitus nec ingenitus eſt, ſed à patre et filio æqualiter procedens*, It is proper to the holy Ghoſt, that he is neither begotten nor created, but equally proceeding both from the Father and the Son.

And this difference is not eſſential, becauſe the Eſſence of all three is the ſame and all one, but perſonal, and yet real and incomprehenſible.

2. Difference external.

2. The external difference is taken from the external works and operations of theſe three Perſons, as that the Fa-

ther sent the Son, the Son is sent to be our Redeemer, and the holy Ghost sent to be our Sanctifier and Comforter; and as in the Apostles Creed the Father is discerned from the Son, by ascribing unto him the creation of Heaven and Earth; and the Son is discerned from the Father, by ascribing unto him his Incarnation of the Virgin *Mary*; and the holy Ghost is discerned from them both by working that Conception of him in the Virgins Womb, and afterwards by his appearing in form of a Dove, and like cloven Tongues of fire.

Matth. 3. 16. Act. 2. 3.

A special observation about the outward works of the Persons.

And here you must observe, that although these operations are thus ascribed to each of the three Persons of the Deity, yet the self-same God did work all and each one of these works: because, as the Schools say most truly, *Opera Trinitatis ad extra sunt indivisa*; the outward works of the Trinity cannot be separated from any one of the three Persons, but are common unto all three, and may be ascribed to each one of them; for the Son is the Creator of all things as well as the Father, for *All things were made by him*, saith the Evangelist, and both the Father and the Son sanctifie us, and are our Comforters as well as the holy Ghost: And therefore it is most truly said by *Nazianzen*, that in these operations, *Non possum unum cogitare, quin trium fulgore confundar, nec tria possum discernere, quin subito ad unum referar*; I cannot think of one of these three Persons, but I am dazled with the brightness of all three: neither can I discern the three, but presently I shall be referred and carried to one.

John 1. 3.

That the persons are distinguished two wayes.

And it is further observed by the Divines, that the Persons are distinguished in the Trinity two wayes.

1. By the Relations of the Persons.
2. By the Properties, { 1. Of their Effects: *Effectorum.* 2. Of their Offices: *Officiorum.*

1. By the relation of the Persons.

1. The incommunicable Relation of the three Persons are the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost proceeding; for the Father is not the name of the Essence, but of relation unto the person of the Son; so the Son is not the name of the Essence,

Eſſence, but of relation to the perſon of the Father; and ſo the holy Ghoſt proceeding is not the name of the Eſſence, but of relation both to the Father and the Son, from whom he doth proceed.

2. They are diſtinguiſhed by the proprieties of the perſons, as — 2. By the proprieties of the Perſons.

1. By the effects, that is, by the form of ſpeech, which the Scripture uſeth, as when it ſpeaketh of the Father, it ſaith commonly, — 1. The effects.

{ 1. *A quo, velut à principio rerum omnium,* &
2. *Ad quem, velut ad finem omnium.* } Ἐξ οὗ.

That is, Of whom, as of the beginning of all things; and, To whom, as unto the end of all things. And when it ſpeaketh of the Son, it ſaith, commonly, — 1 Cor. 8. 6. Rom. 11. 36.

{ 1. *Per quem, tanquam per Mediatorem et diſpoſitorem omnium:*
2. *In quo, velut in materia, omnia ſunt.* } Δι' οὗ.

That is, Through whom, as through the Mediator and diſpoſer of all things; and, In whom all things are contained and do ſubſiſt, as in the proper place and matter. And when it ſpeaketh of the holy Ghoſt, it ſaith, commonly,

{ 1. *Ex quo, tanquam ex motore et agente,* &
2. *Quo, velut ſuſtinente, fovente, et efficiente rerum omnium cauſa.* }

That is, From whom, as from the mover and doer of all things; and, By whom, as by the ſuſtainer, cheriſher, and efficient cauſe of all things: As when *Moſes* ſaith, That the *Spirit of God moved upon the waters*, that is, to ſuſtain it, and to preſerve the ſame together. Gen. 1. 2.

2. By the Offices of the Perſons, that is, in the work of Creation and Redemption: for though the Son creates all things, as well as the Father, for, *By the Word all things were* 2. Their Offices.

Jonh 1.3. *made and without it nothing was made that was made*; yet properly it is attributed unto the Father, as it is set down in the Apostles Creed; and though the Father redeemed us as well as the Son, yet properly it is attributed unto the Son; and though the Father and Son do comfort us, and sanctifie us as well as the Holy Ghost; yet properly, it is ascribed to the Holy Ghost, to be our comforter; and therefore the Father is commonly described by the Name and Title of Creatour, the Son by the name of Redeemer, and the Holy Ghost; by the name of Sanctifier and Comforter.

Whereby it cometh to pass, that although there be an unity in the Essence of the three Persons, yet in the works of our redemption, each one of them hath his proper operation, which is not communicable unto the others; for the Trinity (or three Persons) was not born of a Virgin, it was not crucified, it was not buried, but onely the Son, the second person of the Trinity; so that it is the proper office of the Son to be made man, to suffer death, and to rise again for our redemption; and not of the Father, or of the Holy Ghost: so the Trinity said not, *Tu es filius meus dilectus*, Thou art my well beloved Son, but the Father onely said it; and so the Trinity did not overshadow the blessed Virgin, but the Holy Ghost alone overshadowed her.

Matth. 3. 17. and c. 17. 5. Luke 1. 35.

And yet we must observe, that, as the *Trinity* of persons is infinite and inseparable, so he worketh *communiter*, that is, both *equally*, and *inseparably* in all the works which are called *opera ad extra*; and therefore both the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, do the same things, *ratione effecti operis*, in respect of the work done, but they do it not *eodem modo*, after the same manner; so that here, in their operations, there is a *distinction*, but no *diversity*. And so much shall serve for the *distinction* of the Persons, both in respect of their *relation*, and *proprieties*. And now,

The outward works of the Godhead.

2. Of the unity of the Essence of the Trinity of Persons.

2 Having shewed unto you, that for their works *ad extra*, the *Trinity*, in all and every thing *equally* and together, always worketh in *community*: and especially having set down, for distinction sake, how his own *proper* operation is ascribed

to

to each perſon, it reſteth that I ſhould declare the *Unity* of the *Eſſence* of this bleſſed *Trinity*, to which I muſt ſay with S. *Auguſtine*, that, *In ſumma Trinitate tantum eſt unum, quantum tres ſimul ſunt*, in the holy Trinity, *one* is as much as are *all* the *three* Perſons, *nec plus aliquid ſunt duo quam una res, & in ſe infinita ſunt*; neither are *two* any thing more then *one* thing, and in themſelves are infinite; *Ita & ſinguli ſunt in ſingulis, & etiam omnia in ſingulis, & ſingula in omnibus, & omnia in omnibus, & unum omnia*; and ſo *each* of them are in each one, and alſo *all* in each of them, and *each* of them in *all*, and all in all of them, and *one is all*: and again, *de verbis Domini*, he ſaith, *Videmus Solem in Cœlo currentem, fulgentem, & calentem*, We ſee the Sun in Heaven, running, ſhining, and warming us: and ſo in like manner, the *Fire*, ſaith he, hath three things in it, *motum, lucem, & fervorem*, motion, light, and heat, *Divide ergo ſi potes, Arriane, Solem, vel ignem, & tunc divide Trinitatem*; and therefore if thou canſt, O thou *Arrian*, divide the *Sun*, or the *fire*, then at length divide the *Trinity*: And S. *Gregory* ſaith, *Tunc aperte videbimus quomodo & unum indiviſibiliter tria ſunt, & indiviſibiliter tria unum*; When we ſhall be ſo happy, as to attain to the *kingdom of Heaven*, we ſhall then *plainly ſee* (what we now believe) how the *one* (that is, *Eſſence*) is indiviſibly *three* (that is, *Perſons*;) and the *three* (that is, *Perſons*) is indiviſibly *one*, that is, *Eſſence*.

That the three Perſons are coetenal.

And as for the *eternity* of theſe three Perſons, none is *before* nor *after* the other, but all are *coeternal*; for ſeeing the Son is Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, as S. *John* calls him, the *Word* and Speech of God, and ἡ σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ, the *Wiſdom* of God, as S. *Luke* calleth him; it followeth, that, *aut Pater fuit abſque Sapientiâ, aut nunquam fuit abſque Filio*; either the Father was ſometimes without his *Speech*, or without his *Wiſdom*, or he was never without his *Son*: and ſeeing the Holy Ghoſt is *amor, nexus, & unitas Patris & Filii*, the love, connexion, and unity of the Father and the Son; it muſt needs follow, that either the *Father* and the *Son* were without *love*, and unity betwixt them, or elſe they were never without the *Holy Ghoſt*.

Luke 2. 49.

And

That the three Persons are co-equal.

And so for the *equality* of these Persons, there is none *greater*, nor *lesser* then the other; but as they are *coeternal*, so they are co-equal. And therefore they are deceived, that think the *Father* is greater then the *Son*, *ratione nominis*, in that he is called the *Father*, because the *name* of the *Son* in the blessed Trinity signifieth not a *subjection*, but a *relation*, and not such a relation as it signifieth among men, but for our better notion and apprehension of these *holy Persons*, that in regard of our *weak* understanding were so graciously pleased, to condescend, to make themselves known unto us by those Names, Titles, and Epithetes as we could best understand, when as otherwise both the *Essence* and the *Persons* in themselves, are every other ways incomprehensible. And thus much of the *Mysterie* of the blessed Trinity: Now followeth some *special Attributes* of the divine Essence; and here are five of them.

Certain Rules to be observed concerning the divine attributes.

But touching these, and the other *Attributes* of God, before we proceed any further to treat of the particulars, some certain Rules are to be observed. For,

An Attribute is the *Propriety* of the Divine Nature, which cannot be *separated* from the same, because it is of the *Essence* of God, when as *Quicquid in Deo est, Deus est*, Whatsoever is in God, is God; and therefore the Divines say:

1. Rule and Observation. Gods attributes are no qualities in him. James 1. 17.

1 That we must consider, *Eas proprietates, non esse qualitates, sed ipsam Essentiam Dei*, Those properties not to be any qualities in God, but the very *Essence* of God; because the *nature* of God is most *simple*, and admitteth nothing of the predicaments, when as nothing can be *added* unto it, nothing can be *taken* from it: but, as S. *James* saith, *with him there is no mutation, no change, nor shadow of turning*; for in God there is nothing either by way of *composition*, or by way of *accident*, or by way of *matter* and form; and therefore God is not called *holy*, and *just*, as a man is so called; for holiness and justice in a man are qualities, but in God they are his *Essence*; from whence it cometh to pass, that God is holy, just, and good, without quality; and he is infinite, and immeasureable without quantity: but neither Man, nor Angel can be said to be holy, just, good, or great without quality and quantity

tity: Even ſo, God is preſent every where without moving, *Et ſempiternus ſine tempore*, and he is everlaſting and eternal, without time, as being from all eternity before all times, and ſo continuing for ever & ever, when there ſhall be no time. He that would ſee more of this point, let him look into S. *Bernard*, Serm. 80. *in Cant.* and S. *Auguſtin*, lib. 5. c. 1. *de Trinit.*

2. We muſt conſider, that all the proprieties of God are in him moſt perfectly, moſt equally, and moſt incommutable: but in Men and Angels, they are inchoated, meaſured, and comprehended within certain bounds and degrees, and they are mutable and imperfect: ſo that to the holineſs, purity, and juſtice of God, the bleſſed Angels are neither holy nor pure, nor juſt; and to the goodneſs of God, neither men, nor Angels are good, as both *Job* and our Saviour ſheweth, when he ſaith, *There is none good but God*, that is, perfectly, ſimply, and abſolutely good, *the Angels being not pure in his ſight*, Job 15. 15.

2. Rule and Obſervation. Gods attributes are all perfect and equal in him.

Job 4. 18.

From hence it cometh to paſs, that theſe proprieties in God cannot *ſuſcipere magis aut minus*, that is grow greater or leſſer, or be augmented, which they may do, and do, in any and every man.

Matth. 19 16. *Vide* S. *Aug. Enchirid.*

And as theſe proprieties are moſt perfectly in God, ſo they are moſt equally in him; for neither is his mercy greater then his juſtice, nor his juſtice any leſs then his mercy, becauſe *he maketh not the wicked innocent*, nor calleth evil *good*, nor good *evil*; ſo neither is his wiſdom greater then his power, nor his power any leſs then his wiſdom, becauſe his power can do whatſoever his wiſdom thinks fit and good to be done.

Exod. 34. 7. Ezek. 18. 24.

Yet I ſay, that we, by reaſon of our infirmities cannot perceive them to be equally in him; but we perceive his mercy to be far greater then his juſtice, though in God, the one is neither greater nor leſſer, or better then the other. And therefore the Lord is called *Very mercifull*, and *abundant in goodneſs and truth*; and again, *rich in mercy*, rather then in *juſtice*, onely in regard of us, and not in regard of God himſelf; becauſe now we perceive and find more effects of his mercy and goodneſs, and of his love, favour and benignity, then we do of his ſeverity and juſtice; which notwithſtanding

Exod. 34. 6. Epheſ. 2. 4.

are

are equally in God, as they ſhall find that abuſe his mercy, and deſpiſe his patience and long-ſufferance.

3. Rule and obſervation: Gods attributes and proprieties are not contrary one to another. Ambroſe *de obitu* Theodoſii. Auguſt. *de tempore Ser.* 102. James 1. 17.

3. We muſt obſerve that the proprieties of God are not contrary in God, that is, that there are no contrary proprieties in God; for his mercie doth no wayes hinder or oppoſe his juſtice, and his juſtice hindereth not his mercie; but his mercie is juſtice in him, and his juſtice is to ſhew mercie, as St. *Ambroſe* ſheweth: becauſe, as St. *Auguſtine* ſaith *Serm.* 102. *de tempore*, There are nothing of thoſe things in the Divine nature, which are capable of contrarieties, leſt God ſhould ſeem to be changeable, who is ever the ſame, without any ſhadow of turning; and therefore, all the proprieties of God being of the Eſſence of God, and the Eſſence of God being not contrary to it ſelf, nor any wayes capable of contrarieties, it muſt needs follow that theſe proprieties of God cannot be contrary the one to the other.

Yet theſe proprieties may be diverſly conſidered *quoad nos*, in regard of the creatures; becauſe they tend to divers ends: as his mercy tendeth to another end, then his juſtice doth; for, as St. *Baſil* ſaith, among *moral* virtues, *frugality* is different from *liberality*: for *frugality* doth honeſtly keep thoſe things that are neceſſary, and doth not waſtfully ſpend them, and *liberality* doth honeſtly beſtow thoſe things that neceſſity requireth to be given, and not *niggardly* deny them) yet frugality is not contrary to liberality, but may well ſtand together in the ſame ſubject, when the ſame man may be and is, both frugal and liberal: ſo no more is Gods mercy contrary to his juſtice; for in *contraries*, the one doth take away and deſtroy the other; as prodigality *deſtroyeth* frugality, and ebriety *deſtroyeth* ſobriety, but virtues do preſerve, and mutually keep each other, as frugality giveth place to liberality, and is the means to preſerve it; ſo the juſtice of God is the cauſe that there is a place for Gods mercies; for if God were not juſt to puniſh us, we ſhould have no need of mercie to ſpare us. And therefore theſe *proprieties* of God are not contraries, though in regard of us they are, as they ſeem, *diverſe*, and to be diverſly conſidered.

Baſilius *Contra Eunomium.*

Virtues do preſerve and not deſtroy one another, and ſo do the attributes of God.

Again,

Again, it is manifeſt, that *two contraries* cannot be in the *ſelf-ſame ſubject* at one and the ſelf-ſame time, but that the one of them will deſtroy the other, as heat will deſtroy the cold, or the cold ſuppreſs the heat; but in the one and the ſelf-ſame good man and his works, both frugality and liberality may well ſtand, and be together, without any prejudice of the one by the other: even ſo in the one and the *ſelf-ſame God*, both Juſtice and Mercie, at one and the ſelf-ſame time, and at all times, are and do ſtand together, without any the leaſt prejudice, of the one to the other; and therefore we do find, that in the ſelf-ſame place, and at the ſelf ſame time, the ſelf-ſame God is called both, *punitor & ſalvator*, the puniſher and the ſaviour, for *I kill and give life, I wound and I make whole*; and, as *Hannah* ſpeaketh, *he bringeth down to the grounde and raiſeth up, he maketh poor and maketh rich, he bringeth low and exalteth:*

Contraries cannot be in the ſelf-ſame ſubject at the ſelf-ſame time, without deſtroying one annother.

Deut. 32. 39.

1 Sam. 2. 7.

And therefore, contrary to the opinion and ſentence of *Marcion*, that affirmed the Juſtice of God to be contrary to Mercy, you ſee, that one propriety of God cannot be contrary to another; becauſe all and every one of his proprieties do, at all times, and at the ſelf-ſame time, reſide and ſubſiſt in him together.

4. We muſt obſerve that *between the Attributes* and properties of God, there is no real diſtinction, but only *notionis & rationis*, in reſpect of notion and our apprehenſion, as St. *Baſil* teacheth.

4. Rule and obſervation.

Baſilius *l.* 1. *contra Eunomium.*

5. And laſtly, we are to obſerve that *ſome certain* of Gods Attributes may be, and are *communicated* to the creatures, and certain others cannot be communicated to any creature; as in that he is called *Holy, Juſt, Merciful* and *Good*, and the like, theſe Attributes are and may, in ſome reſpects, be *communicated* to the creatures; but in that he is ſtyled and ſaid to be *Infinite, Eternal*, and *Almighty*, and the like, theſe cannot be communicated to any creature, no not to the very Angels of God.

5. Rule and obſervation: Some Attributes may, and others may not, be communicated to the creature.

And here you muſt further note, that theſe Attributes of God, which are *communicated* to the creatures, are not real-

Nota, that not the very Attributes, but the effects of Gods Attributes are communicated to the creatures.

ly communicated to any of his creatures, but only the effects of these Attributes; for, as I said before, the Goodness, Holyness and Justice of God, is God; but the Goodness, Sanctity, Justice, and the like, that are either in Men or Angels, are but the *effects* of those Attributes of God, and are wrought in the creatures, by the *power* and *goodness* of God.

And now to speak of these *particular* Attributes here expressed.

1. Attribute is Gods holyness.

The 1. is the Sanctity, and Purity of God, in the word ἅγιος. *Holy*, and this word ἅγιος is derived of the privative article α and the word γῆ which signifieth the *Earth*, as if it were a separation from all *earthly things*: and so it signifieth that which is Pure and Clean, and free from the least stain of iniquity, or the least *shadow* of injustice. And thus God only is of himself, and of his own Nature *simply* and *absolutely* Holy; and so our Church in her highest strain of Devotion, immediately after the receiving of the Blessed *Sacrament*, sings unto God, *Thou only art Holy*, that is, *simply* and in all respects Essentially Holy.

And so the Blessed *Virgin*, speaking of God, saith, *Holy is his name*; and therefore in that Golden *Plate*, which was to adorn *Aaron*'s Fore-head, *Moses* commanded, there should be Ingraven ἁγίασμα κυρίου as the *Septuagint* translates it, that is, *Sanctitas Jehovæ*, as *Tremelius*, or, *Sanctum Domino*, as the Vulgar *Latine* hath it; *all Holyness* or Sanctity is to be ascribed to the Lord, and doth only proceed from the Lord: and the glorious *Seraphims*, which *Esaias* saw, and these wonderful *Beasts* in my Text, repeat *this Attribute* three several times, saying, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty*, which we do not read of any other Attribute of God; the Spirit of God, to whom this Attribute is specially appropriated, by the name of the *Holy Ghost*, having a special regard to preserve this Attribute, of all his Attributes, inviolable; because he foresaw that, through the malice of Satan against God, and the froward disposition of corrupt men, this Attribute of all Gods Attributes, should be most of all contradicted, murmured against, and traduced; as if God were not so pure, just, upright and holy. Especially,

1. In

1. In the election of his Servants.
2. In the diſtribution of his Graces.
3. In the remuneration of our Deſerts.

} For

1. If he hath created the wicked for the day of wrath, and for this cauſe hath raiſed up *Pharaoh*, and hardened his heart to make his power known, and hath from all eternity by his irreſpective Decree, before the Children had done either good or evil, loved *Jacob* and hated *Eſau*, and determined the preterition of thoſe whom he reprobateth, How can the Reprobates otherwiſe chooſe but walk in the paths that leads them to deſtruction? when the Apoſtle tells us plainly, It is not *in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that ſheweth mercy*: and God by his unchangeable purpoſe to paſs by them, and to deny that mercy unto them whereby they ſhould will to anſwer when he calleth, and to lay hold of his Grace when he offereth it: How can he be ſo holy, ſo pure, and ſo free from accepting of perſons, and of being ſome wayes the Author of the damnation of all Reprobates, that, as he ſaith of *Pharaoh*, both his Juſtice and his power might be known? Proverb 16 4. Job 21. 30.

To thoſe rigid *Presbyterians* that make this indirect Objection, to the great diſhonour of God, and the wounding of his chiefeſt Attribute, we ſay, That although God hath, *Jus abſolutum in Creaturas*, an abſolute power over all his Creatures, ſo that he may do with them what he will; *Even as the Potter hath power over the clay to make a veſſel either to honour or diſhonour*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh: Yet becauſe it ſeemeth to be cruelty, to make a Creature purpoſely for his own pleaſure to be miſerable, and eſpecially eternally miſerable; God doth not uſe this his power, nor *Preparare filios ad patibulum*; for he made not Death, neither temporal nor eternal, but he made all things that they might have their Being; and he takes no pleaſure in the deſtruction of the living, but, through the malice of the Devil, and mans own wilful frowardneſs, death and damnation came upon us: And Gods Decree of Rom. 9. 13. Sap. 1. 13. & 14. 6.

Preterition is but the juſt puniſhment of our tranſgreſſion: for God, that had decreed our creation, foreſaw our tranſgreſſion, and the frowardneſs of the one, and the readineſs of the other, that is, of the elect and reprobate, to recede from that condition, and both of them, being alike wrapped in the maſs of corruption, which came ſo by *Adams* tranſgreſsion, and neither of them could challenge any thing at the hand of God, from whom both of them had alike receded, God ſheweth mercy upon whom he will, and whom he will he leaveth ſtill in that ſtate wherein he was, not created by him, nor intruded by his means, but, moſt miſerably fallen in the loyns of *Adam*: and this he doth moſt juſtly too, becauſe he foreſeeth, that when he calleth, he will not anſwer: and though he ſhould ſtretch forth his hand all the day long, yet this froward wilful man will not regard it.

And therefore certainly, *Culpa non eſt vocantis ſed renuentis*, there cannot be laid the leaſt blame on God, that in the election of the one, whom he foreſeeth will anſwer when he calleth, he ſheweth, *Indebitam miſericordiam*, more then deſerved mercy; and in the preterition of the other, whom he foreſeeth will refuſe his mercy, he doth nothing elſe but render unto him, *debitam juſtitiam*, what he moſt juſtly deſerveth.

And whereas the Scripture ſaith, That *God hardened the heart of Pharaoh*; and that *it is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth*; and that *the veſſels of wrath are fitted for deſtruction*, and the like: ſome of them are not rightly underſtood, when they are ſpoken in one ſenſe, and are applyed by our *Presbyterians* to another ſenſe; as thoſe that are fitted or prepared for deſtruction are not ſo fitted and made up by God for that end, but by their own ſins, that do fit them for their damnation: Some other ſpeeches are ſpoken of God, *ad captum noſtrum*, not properly to be underſtood as they are ſpoken, but in that ſenſe which the holy Ghoſt meaneth; as, *God ſware in his wrath*, when as God ſaith, *In me non eſt furor*: and *he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of mine eye*, when as God hath neither feet, nor hands, nor eyes: So when it is ſaid, *Whom he will he hardeneth*, it is not meant, that he hardeneth

hardeneth any man, *Efficiendo duritiem*, by working any hardneſs or ſtubbornneſs in him, but *Non molliendo per gratiam*, by not ſoftening it by his Grace, which he juſtly denyeth unto him, when, like *Pharaoh*, he doth ſtubbornly refuſe to obey his Voice.

And therefore ſeeing that in the proper ſenſe God hardeneth no man, and rejecteth or reprobateth no man but for his ſins and wickedneſs, but profeſſeth, *As I live, ſaith the Lord, I deſire not the death of a ſinner.* And again, *Perditio tua ex te*, Thy deſtruction is from thy ſelf, and not from me. If men will rob God, kill their Brethren, oppreſs their Neighbours, and ſo damn themſelves; let them thank themſelves, and not lay the blame on God, who is moſt juſt in all his wayes, and holy in all his works.

2. For the unequal diſtributing of his Graces we ſay, that this inequality, as of glory in the Stars, and the Orders of Angels, and ſo of all other Creatures, maketh the better harmony, and ſheweth more of the Wiſdom and Power of God, then if all of them were equal; and though he giveth to one five Talents, to others but one, and to ſome none at all, and that he exalteth ſome, and make them rich, and Lords, and pulleth down others, to make them poor and Beggars, and ſo diſtributes all his gifts and graces diverſly; yet herein we ſay there is no *ataxie*, no diſorder, nor injuſtice in Gods doing, nor any wrong done to him that hath but one gift, or to him that hath none at all; *Quia non tenetur Creator creature*, becauſe God is debter to none, and he is not bound to give any thing to any one; and therefore he may lawfully and juſtly do what he will with his own, as our Saviour ſheweth moſt excellently in the Parable of the Labourers, hired into his Vineyard. Matth. 25. 15. Matth. 20. 15.

3. For the remuneration of deſerts we ſay, that in giving unto them, which *by continuance in well doing ſeek glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life*, he ſheweth himſelf moſt gracious and merciful, in beſtowing upon them what they could not challenge from him; and in rendring vengeance to them that obey not God, and in plaguing them both in this life

life and in the life to come, he doth but what is most just and upright: and therefore the Prophet *Esay*, after he had set down many of Gods Judgements against the wicked, addeth, That *the Lord of Hosts should be exalted in judgment, and the holy God should be sanctified in justice*, that is, that he should be acknowledged by all men to be most pure, and holy, and commended for his justice, in punishing the wicked according to their deserts. And this doctrine of Gods holiness and purity should put us in mind of our duty, to be, not as the Devil, corrupt and unjust, but, as God commandeth us, to be holy as he is holy, and to be as he is, if we desire to be where he is, where no impure thing shall ever come. And so much for the first Attribute here expressed.

Esay 5. 16.

2. Attribute is, Gods rule and authority.

2. The next Attribute is Κύριος, *Lord*, and he is said to be *the lord of any thing*, *Qui jus, autoritatem, & dominium habet in aliquam rem*, which hath right, authority and rule over any thing, and whose own proper thing is that, of which he is said to be lord; for Κύριος is derived ἀπὸ τοῦ κῦρος, εος, which signifieth Authority, saith *Pasor*; and the Latine word, *Dominus, dicitur à domo*, saith *Zanchius*; because the Master of the house was wont to be called the *Lord* of it.

Zanc. de natura dei l. 1. c. 17.

And this name *Lord*, saith he, in the Writings of the Apostles is ascribed to *Christ*, *idque millies*, about a thousand times; because he ruleth and governeth, not only the little house of his Church, but also the great house of this whole World, as the Apostle sheweth.

Heb. 1. 2, 3.

Why the Father is stiled God, and the Son Lord.

And the reason, why the name of *God* is usually attributed to the *Father*, and the name of *Lord* commonly ascribed to the *Son*, is twofold.

Reason 1.

1. Because the *Father* is the fountain of the whole Deity, therefore is he usually termed *God*: and the *Son* is termed *Lord*, because he is appointed of his *Father* to be *Lord* of all things, and *all power is given unto him, over all flesh*.

John 17. 2.

Reason 2.

2. The *Father* is called *God* most usually, because that in the mystery of our redemption, the *Father* remained still in his *Majesty*, and gave his *Son* only to be our Redeemer; and the Son, though he was *in the form of God*, yet was he content,

tent, not to remain with his *Father* in that equal Majeſty, which he had with him from all eternity, but, *He made himſelf of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a ſervant*; and ſo with the laying down of his *Glory*, he laid down alſo the Name of *God*, and by taking unto him the form of a ſervant, he took alſo the name of a ſervant, that is, in reſpect of his *Father*, to whom, as a ſervant, he became obedient in all things unto death: and therefore the *Father* calleth him his Servant, ſaying, *Ecce ſervus meus*, Behold my ſervant, *whom I uphold*; which is interpreted of Chriſt. Phil. 2. 7. Eſay 42. 1. Matth. 12. 18. Whom I have choſen.

But in reſpect of us, the *Son* is ſaid to be our *Lord*, and ſo he is called every where, becauſe we are given unto him for his inheritance, that we ſhould ſerve him and acknowledge him for our *Lord* and Maſter; and ſo, as he is made our *Lord*, the name of *Lord* is given unto him of his *Father*.

And therefore, though *Chriſt* indeed remained alwayes *God*, and in the form of *God*, wherein he was from all eternity, yet becauſe he was appointed by the *Father*, and contented himſelf to be the Saviour of all mankind, he humbled himſelf unto death, and unto death he laid down the Name of *God*, and took unto himſelf two other names. As Chriſt laid aſide the Name of God, and took two other names.

1. The name of a *Servant*, in regard of his *Father*, to whom he was made obedient as a ſervant, and for which cauſe he alwayes calleth upon him as a ſervant calleth upon his Maſter, and referreth all things unto him, as to his *Lord* and *Maſter*. The firſt in reſpect of his Father.

2. He took upon him the name of *Lord*, in regard of us: and that is due unto him in a fourfold reſpect, that is, The ſecond, in reſpect of us.

By right { 1. Of *Inheritance*. 2. Of *Redemption*. 3. Of *Wedlock*. 4. Of *Creation*. } For

Chriſt is our Lord in four reſpects.

1. *He is the Lord our God, and we are the people of his paſture*, 1. By right of Inheritance.

ſture, and the ſheep of his hands; and the *Father* ſaid unto him, *Dabo tibi gentes in hæreditatem tuam*, I will give the Gentiles for thine inheritance, and the uttermoſt parts of the earth for thy poſſeſſion: And therefore St. *Peter* ſaith, *Let all the houſe of Iſrael know for certain*, or aſſuredly, *that God hath made the ſame Jeſus, whom you have crucified, both Lord and Chriſt.*

Pſal. 2. 8.

Act. 2. 36.

And in this reſpect alſo he is *Lord* of the wicked Reprobates, though they will not obey him; for the Prophet *David* ſaith, *Omnia ſubjeciſti ſub pedibus ejus*, Thou haſt put all things in ſubjection under his feet; and the Apoſtle ſaith, this was ſpoken of Chriſt: And again, the ſame Prophet ſpeaking of him, ſaith, that the Lord ſaid unto him, *Sit thou on my right hand, untill I make thine enemies thy footſtool*: Yea more then this, he is the Lord of all things whatſoever; for *Him hath God appointed* and made *heir of all things*, as the Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* teacheth: and our Saviour himſelf ſaith, *All power is given unto me both in heaven and in earth*: And again, *All things that the Father hath are mine.*

Pſal 8. 5. & 6.

Heb. 2. 8.

Pſal. 110. 1.

Heb. 1.

Matth. 28 18.

John 18. 15.

Whereby you may ſee, that, *Jure hæreditario*, by right of inheritance, as his *Fathers* Heir, he is the *Lord*: 1. Of the Elect. 2. Of the Reprobates: And 3. Of all the things in the world.

2. By right of purchaſe. 2. He is our Lord by right of redemption or of purchaſe: for ſo the Apoſtle ſaith, *You are not your own*, becauſe *you are bought with a price*: And St. *Peter* ſheweth, what price it was that redeemed us, and was paid for us, *No corruptible thing, as ſilver and gold*, but *the pretious bloud of Jeſus Chriſt*: And therefore ſeeing Chriſt hath bought us, and redeemed us out of the hands of our enemies, he may juſtly challenge us to be his ſervants, and himſelf to be our Lord and Maſter: for ſo the men of *Iſrael* ſaid unto *Gideon*, *Rule thou over us, and ſo be our Lord*, and Governour, for that *thou haſt delivered us out of the hand of Midian.*

1 Cor. 6. 19, 20.

1 Pet. 1. 18, 19.

Judg. 8. 22.

3. By right of marriage. 3. He is our *Lord* by right of marriage, becauſe he is the Husband of his Church, and the Church is the Spouſe of Chriſt:

Chriſt: for ſo the Lord profeſſeth, *I will betroth thee to me in faithfulneſs*; and *I will betroth thee to me for ever*, and the Husband is the head of the Wife, and ſo is Chriſt of his Church, ſaith the Apoſtle: and therefore, as *Sarah* obeyed her Husband, and *called him her Lord*; ſo Chriſt being our Head, and the Husband of every faithful Soul, we acknowledge him for our Lord, and be ſubject unto him, as to our Lord and Maſter. Hoſea 2. 19, 20. Epheſ. 5. 23.

4. He is our Lord by right of creation, becauſe *all things were made by him*, as St *John* teſtifieth: And he hath made us, and not we our ſelves, ſaith the Prophet *David*: and therefore he muſt needs be our *Lord*. And no man can deny it: for the Prophet ſaith, *The earth is the Lords, and all that therein is, the whole world, and they that dwell therein* And why ſo? He anſwereth immediately, Becauſe *he hath founded it upon the ſeas, and eſtabliſhed it upon the floods*. And ſo St. *Paul* ſaith, *God that made the world, and all things therein, he is Lord of heaven and earth*. 4 By right of Creation. John 1. 1. Pſal. 24. 1. Acts 17. 24.

And this point of doctrine, that Chriſt in all theſe reſpects is our *Lord*, and *Lord* of the godly, and of the wicked, and of all things elſe, it ſhould teach us this threefold Leſſon. The former Doctrine teaches us a threefold leſſon.

1. In regard of the godly, it ſhould teach them humility, obedience, and comfort. 1. Humility, becauſe they are but ſervants; and the Comique ſaith, *Non decet hominem ſervulum eſſe ſuperbum*, It is a very unſeemly thing, to ſee a proud ſervant of an humble maſter. 2. Obedience, becauſe the ſervant ought to be obedient to his Lord and Maſter, and to be afraid to offend him; for, *A ſon honoureth his father, and a ſervant his maſter*, ſaith the Prophet: If Chriſt then be our *Lord* and *Maſter*, where is our reverence, our fear, and our obedience to him? May not he ſay to us as he doth unto the *Jews*, *Why call you me Lord, Lord, and do not what I ſay*? For to ſay that Chriſt is our Lord, and not to do what he commands us, is but meer hypocriſie; and with the *Jews* to ſay *Hayl King*, and ſpit in his face. 3. Comfort, becauſe they ſerve ſuch a gracious Lord, as taketh pleaſure in the proſperity of his ſervants, and will eaſe them when they cry unto him, 1. Leſſon in reſpect of the godly. Mal. 1. 6. Luk. 6. 46.

Matth. 11. that they are *weary and heavy laden*, as himself doth promise.

2. Lesson in respect of the wicked. 2. In regard of the wicked; it should teach them to be ashamed of their pride and arrogancy, to neglect their obedience, and to slight the Rule and Authority of this their Lord and Master. For as of old, when *Moses* came unto *Pharaoh* in the name of the Lord, he proudly answered, *Who is the Lord, that I should hear his voice?* And *Nebuchadnezzar*, when the three children were brought before him, did most arrogantly demand, *Who is that God which can deliver you out of my hands?* Exod. 5. 2. So now we have *too many* that in *words* profess to be the servants of this Lord, *sed factis negant*, but, as the Apostle saith, Dan. 3. 15. Titus 1. 16. they deny him by their *deeds*, which they ought to be ashamed to do.

3 Lesson in respect of Gods creatures. 3. In regard of the *creatures*, seeing he is Lord *of all things*, and, as the Apostle demandeth, *What hast thou, that thou hast not received from him?*

1 Cor. 4. 7. 1. We ought to be thankfull for what we have, and be contented with whatsoever we have, be the same little or much: for, Is it not lawfull for him *to do what he will with his own*, and to dispose of them at his pleasure, to give what he will, to whom he will, but thine eye must be *evil*, because he is *good?*

2. We ought to imploy all that we have for the honour and service of this our Lord and Master: for we are but his stewards, and we must give an account how we expend our Masters goods; he allows us food & rayment, and having that, the Apostle saith, *we should be therewith contented.* And truly, for mine own part, I do here, on this *good Day*, and in this *holy Place*, profess before you all, I am sufficiently contented, and fully satisfied, and very thankfull to this my Lord and Master for what I have, having farr more then I deserve, or could expect; and therefore whatsoever I sue for to recover from any other, it is not to enrich my self, or any of my relations, wife, children, or friends; but I do it for the service of this my Lord and Master, and I will wholly and fully bestow whatsoever I recover, for the repairing of this *Church*; so that, recovering

covering it, I ſhall be not one peny the richer, but this *Church* ſhall be the better; and not recovering it, I ſhall not be the poorer, but the *Church* ſhall want ſo much, as I ſhould recover: and this is my reſolution, and if I fail in one tittle of what I ſay, Let theſe my words be a witneſs againſt me in the laſt Day.

3. The next Attribute is Θεὸς, God; and *Damaſcen* ſaith, there be two principal Names of God, that is, ὁ ὤν, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς, He that is, or *I am*, as he ſaith unto *Moſes*, and *God*; and he giveth three ſpecial ſignifications, or Etymologies, of this word Θεὸς, *God*. The third attribute is Gods knowledge and providence. Three ſignifications of Θεὸς.

1. Ἀπὸ τοῦ θεῖν, *Curro, ambio*, of running, and compaſſing about the world, to order and to diſpoſe of all the things that are therein; and this declareth the providence of God over all, even the leaſt things of this world whereof not any thing, not the lighting of a Sparrow upon the ground happeneth, as our Saviour ſheweth, without the providence of God: and the *Wiſe man* ſaith, the *Wiſdom* of God, *Attingit à fine uſque ad finem, & diſponit omnia ſuaviter*, reacheth from one end of the world to another mightily, and ordereth all things ſweetly: and ſo the Apoſtle ſaith, that God, *Portat omnia verbo virtutis ejus*, beareth up all things with his mighty word, or the word of his power, which is *Jeſus Chriſt*; and in this ſenſe both *Proclus* and *Plato* do interpret the word Θεὸς to ſignifie the Providence of God, and to ſhew that nothing cometh to paſs without the will of God, and all things that do come to paſs by the wil of God, are, in reſpect of God, moſt holy, juſt, and good: for as in the *creation*, all that he made was exceeding good; ſo in the ordering, diſpoſing, and governing of them, all that he doth is exceeding juſt; and the very evil that he ſuffereth to be done, he turneth to good, for his own glory, and the benefit of his Church, as he did the crucifying of his Son, to the ſaving of all his ſervants. For, ſo great is his goodneſs, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, that he would never have ſuffered Sin, or any other evil to be done, unleſs his power and wiſdom were able, as he drew light out of darkneſs, ſo to draw a greater good out of our evil, though not

1. Signification.

Matth. 10. 29.

Sap. 8. 1.

Hebr. 1. 3.

to them that commit the evil; because we should not sin that grace might abound, as the Apostle sheweth.

Rom. 6. 1.

2. Significa-tion.

2. The foresaid Father, and others say, that Θεὸς is derived ἀπὸ τῦ ἄιθειν ὁ ἐστι καίειν, that is, *adurere, & accendere*, to burn and to kindle and enlighten: and so *Moses* saith, *Our God is a consuming fire*, either because of his wrath against sin and sinners, or because of the brightness of his Majesty; even as S. *John* saith, *God is light, in whom there is no darkness at all*; and therefore he appeared unto *Moses* in a flame of fire in the burning bush, and in his vision to *Ezekiel*, he manifested himself in the appearance of *fire*, which should make all sinners to be afraid to offend him, lest this terrible fire should consume them.

Deut. 4. 24.

1 John 1.

Ezek. 1. 27.

3 Signification.

3. The said *Damascen* saith, that Θεὸς may be derived ἀπὸ τῦ δεδοικθαι τὰ πάντα, because he seeth all things, and all things are *patent* and open in his sight, as the Apostle sheweth, and no *Creature*, no word, no thought can be hid from him; and therefore the *Wise man* adviseth all discontented persons, to beware of *murmuring*, *which is nothing worth*; because the *eare of jealousie heareth all things*, and the noise of your muttering is not hid, neither is there *any word so secret, that it shall go for naught*.

Hebr. 4. 13.

Sap. 1. 10, 11.

These be the Etymologies and significations of Θεὸς, which *Damascen* giveth, *Curro, uro, cerno*, to run, to burn, to see; and to these, the *Latine Writers* do add another, and say that Θεὸς may be derived *à* Δεὸς, by changing the asperate Θ into Δ, and that signifieth *fear*, because all nations should *fear the Lord our God*. And so the *Greeks* shew us, *Qualis sit Deus*, what manner of God he is, that seeth and governeth all things; and the *Latines* shew us, *Quid sit nostri officii*, what our duty is, to be afraid to offend this great and glorious God; and so the Prophet *Jeremiah* demandeth, *Who would not fear thee, O King of nations?* and God himself saith, *Fear ye not me, and will ye not tremble at my presence, which have placed the sand for the bound of the Sea, by a perpetual decree, that it cannot pass it*; that is, which have bridled and tamed that unruly Element, by the small and silly Sands, *and though the waves*

toss

toſs themſelves, yet can they not prevail, though they roar, yet can they not paſs over theſe poor and feeble things.

4. The next Attribute here expreſſed is παντοκράτωρ, that is, *Almighty*, or that can do all things; and he is ſaid to be almighty, in three ſpecial Reſpects. The fourth Attribute is of Gods power which is omnipotent in three reſpects.

1. Becauſe he can do whatſoever he would do, and he can hinder whatſoever he would not have don: for *whatſoever pleaſed the Lord, that did he in heaven and in earth, in the ſea and in all deep places*, ſaith the Prophet; and ſo the Creation of the World makes this manifeſt. And *Solomon* ſaith, that *many devices are in man's heart, but the counſel of the Lord, that ſo all ſtand*, and all their devices, without his counſel, ſhall come to nought: as the Gyants, that thought to build the Tower of *Babel* to ſcale the Walls of Heaven, were ſoon confounded, and their devices ſuddenly deſtroyed; ſo the men of *Sodom* thought to preſs upon *Lot* and the Angels that were with him, but the Lord preſently blind-folded them; ſo *Abſolon* conceited to make himſelf King, but God brought him to the bough where he was hanged; and ſo our late *Uſurpers* and Rebells had brave devices and projects in their hearts to deſtroy us all, and to make themſelves Lords over all, but you ſee how eaſily the Lord overwhelmed them, and brought them to ſhame and confuſion. 1. Reſpect. Pſal. 135. 6. Prov. 19. 21. Gen. 11. Gen. 19.

2. He is ſaid to be *Omnipotent*, becauſe he bringeth all things to paſs ſo eaſily, without any difficulty in the world; for he did but *ſpeak the word and they were made, he commanded and they ſtood faſt*. And he doth all things, either without means, or with the weakeſt means in the world; and ſometimes contrary to the nature of the proper means, as when he made the world out of nothing, he did but ſay, *Let there be light and it was ſo:* and what weak inſtruments were *Moſes* and *Aaron* to bring *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*? Or *Rams horns* to batter down the ſtrong walls of *Jericho*? or a ſilly woman, to be the death of General *Siſera*? or *Gideon* with three hundred men to overthrow the mighty Hoſt and the innumerable Army of the *Midianites*? And with what improbable ſtrength hath this Almighty God brought our gracious King to his Crown 2. Reſpect. Pſal. 148. 5. Pſal. 77. 20. Joſh 6. 20. Judg. 4. 21. Judg. 7. 2.

Crown and Kingdoms again? It was the Almighty God that did it.

And ſo in the Spiritual work of our Redemption, by what weak means hath he looſned and overthrown the work of the Devil, and delivered his Priſoners out of captivity? For, bleſſed be this ſtrong *Jehovah*, we ſee how *his power is made perfect through weakneſs*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh: and how Chriſt that ſeemed *a worm and no man*, as the Prophet ſpeaketh, in becoming *poor*, hath made us *rich*, and in becoming a *curſe*, hath made us the heirs of *bleſſing*: and after his Aſcention into heaven, with what weak inſtruments hath he converted the world from Idolatry and Infidelity, to imbrace the *Chriſtian* Faith? Through the fooliſhneſs of Preaching, ſaith the Apoſtle, of a few poor Fiſher-men, and us that are their ſucceſſors: this is the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eys. But it is *more marvellous*, that he ſhould do what he will, not only without means and by weak means, but alſo contrary to all means; as with *Clay*, that is able to make any man blind, to make a blind man to ſee; and with *Fire*, that burns every thing elſe, to preſerve the three Children in the *Fiery Furnace*; and to make the raging *Sea*, that ſwallows down, and *drowneth* man and beaſt, to be a *Wall of defence* unto the children of *Iſrael*.

2 Cor. 12. 19.

2 Cor. 8. 9.
1 Pet. 3. 9.

John 9. 6.

3. Reſpect. 3. God is ſaid to be *Omnipotent* and Almighty, becauſe he is able to do, what he will not do, that is, more then ever he did, or ever will do; for he is able of theſe ſtones to raiſe up Children unto *Abraham*. And he ſaith to St. *Peter*, *Think you, that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he ſhall preſently give me more then twelve legions of Angels*, and ſo he can do many thouſand things, that he doth not, and will not do.

Math. 3. 9.

Math. 26. 53.

But it is objected, that the Apoſtle ſaith, *He cannot lie*; and again, *He cannot denie himſelf*; to which St. *Auguſtine* anſwereth that *Magna eſt Dei potentia, non poſſe mentiri*, it is an argument of Gods *great power*, that he cannot lie, or deny himſelf, becauſe that *to lie* is the ſign of *weakneſs* and imbecillity, when the lyer is not able to do what he ſaith, or to perform what he promiſeth. And he that deſireth further ſatisfaction in this

Titus 1. 2.
2 Tim. 2. 13.
Aug. *de Trinitat. l.* 15. *c.* 15.

this Point, let him look into my *Beſt Religion*, where I have handled the ſame more at large. See the *Beſt Religion*.

So you have ſeen, *how*, and in what *reſpect* God is ſaid to be παντοκράτωρ, *Almighty*: and that ſhould teach us a two-fold Leſſon,

{1. The one of *Fear*. 2. The other of *Comfort*.} For — Two Leſſons to be learnt.

1. God threatneth to *puniſh* and plague wicked ſinners, and he that bleſſeth himſelf when he heareth the curſe, the Lord ſaith he will not *ſpare* him, but will *blot out his name from under heaven*; and again he ſaith, if you walk *ſtubbornly and contrary unto me*, I will alſo walk *contrary* unto you, and *plague you ſeven times more for your offences*; and do not you think, that God is able to make good his threatnings? Therefore we ought all of us to *humble* our ſelves, and to *fear* the Almighty God, and, as our Saviour ſaith, *to fear him who is able to deſtroy both body and ſoul*. 1. Of fear. Deut. 29. 19. Levit. 26. 23. Math. 10. 28.

2. This Doctrine of the almighty power of God, may afford us a great deal of *comfort*, againſt the *Devil*, our *afflictions*, and all *Tyrants*. For when we ſee Satans *army* and conſider his *ſtratagems* againſt us, we may well cry out with *Elizeus* ſervant, *Alas, what ſhall we do?* But when we remember what our Saviour ſaith, *I give to my ſheep eternal life, and they ſhall never periſh, neither ſhall any pluck them out of my hand, becauſe my Father which gave them me is greater then all, and none is able to take them out of my fathers hands*: we may comfort our ſelves, and be aſſured, that, as St. *Peter* ſaith, the *godly* that do ſerve the Lord, *ſhall be kept by the power of God through faith unto ſalvation*; becauſe *he that is in us is greater*, and more powerful, *then he that is in the world*. 2. Leſſon. 2. Reg. 6. 15. John 10. 28. 1 Pet. 1. 5. 1 John 4. 4.

3. The laſt Attribute here ſet down is, *which was, and is, and is to come*, and this crowneth all the other Attributes of God: for without this, to be *Lord*, to be a *God*, and to be *Almighty* would avail little or nothing: but to be ſo, and to be ſo

Esai. 43. 10. Psal. 90. 2. so for ever, is all in all, and only the honour and prerogative of the Almighty God. And so God saith, *Before me there was no God formed, neither shall be after me:* and the Prophet *David* speaking to him, saith, *Before the mountains were made, and before thou hast formed the earth or the world, thou art God from everlasting, and world without end,* and St. *Paul* calls him, *the king of ages,* or the *everlasting* King: and the author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews,* saith, ὁ τῶν αἰώνων βασιλεύς. For, as he saith unto *Moses, I am* is his name, that is, an *Eternal* being, and which *inhabiteth eternity,* and as here these Beasts do say *which was,* that is, *Lord God almighty,* and therefore the Maker and Creatour of all the things that are, and *which is* that is, Lord God Almighty, and therefore the ruler and governor of all the things that are, and *which is to come,* that is, to be, as he is, Lord God Almighty; therefore the *rewarder* of all men as their works shall be.

1 Tim. 1. 17. Exod. 3. 14. Esai. 57. 15.

What the former point should teach us.

And this *Eternal being* of God should teach us all to labour for *eternity:* for that which is vain, and vanisheth, is of nothing worth: but the truth is, that we shall all be Eternal, and for ever, either in felicity or misery, in joy or in torments: and therefore our study and care should be, so to live and to serve this Eternal God, that we may live with him in Eternal happiness, and avoid those Eternal torments, wherein the wicked shall be chained for ever. For you shall find that, as the same Father saith, *Præterit jucunditas non reditura, & manet anxietas non peritura.*

And therefore I advise you all, and my *hearts desire* is, that you would be all like these four Beasts, as I have explained them, in their *description* and their *practice,* that so with these Beasts you may for ever live with him, *which was, and is, and is to come.* To whom be all *Honour,* and *Glory,* and *Praise,* and *Thanks,* for ever and ever, Amen.

Jehovæ Liberatori.

THE ONLY WAY TO THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN.

A

SERMON

Preached before the Duke of *Ormond*'s Grace, and the two Houſes of Parliament in *Dublin*.

By *Griffith*, Lord Biſhop of *Oſſory*.

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THE FIFTH SERMON.

MATH. 6. 33. and LUKE 12. 31.

But ſeek ye firſt the kingdom of God, and his righteouſneſs, and all theſe things ſhall be added unto you.

I Have, not long ſince, began to treat of this Text before the moſt Religious and moſt Honourable Perſon here: And what then the time prevented me, I ſhall now endeavour, by Gods help, to conclude unto you; yet with an abſtract and an abreviation of the particular Points and Heads I then handled, that ſo you may the better underſtand

the whole: And as St. *Paul* ſaith, Though to us it is troubleſome, yet for you it is profitable to hear the ſame things again, *Quia labilis memoria hominis*, and good things will ſoon ſlip out of our minds. And I ſaid then, that the Angel
2 Eſdr. 8.1,3. *Uriel* tells *Eſdræ*, the man of God, That as the earth hath more duſt and clay for earthen veſſels, then Ore and Mines for gold; ſo this preſent world hath more men that tend towards Hell, then thoſe that ſhall poſſeſs Heaven: and that although many men are created, yet there ſhall but few men be ſaved.

Ch. 9. v. 15. And *chap. 9. ver. 15.* he ſaith, That, *Sicut fluctus majores ſunt guttis*, as the wave is greater then a drop, ſo they are more that ſhall be deſtroyed, then thoſe that ſhall be delivered. And in the foreſaid *chap. 8. ver. 56, & 57.* he ſetCh. 8. v. 56, & 57. teth down the reaſon, why ſo many men ſhall be condemned; not becauſe God, by his abſolute and irreſiſtible Will would have it ſo, *Quia non voluit Deus hominem diſperdi*, For he deſireth not the death of a ſinner, and he would have no man to periſh: But it is, ſaith the Text,

V. 60.

Quia
1. *Spreverunt Altiſſimum.*
2. *Dereliquerunt vias ejus.*
3. *Conculcaverunt juſtos.*

1. They deſpiſed the moſt Higheſt.
2. They forſook his wayes, that is, to walk in his Laws.
3. They trampled the juſt and good men under foot; things uſually done in the world, and too frequent in theſe dayes.

And leſt any man ſhould detract from the teſtimony of this Angel, becauſe the book of this man is by many of our men deemed to be *apocryphal*, that is, obſcure, and not the *clear Canon*; therefore the Angel of the Covenant, *Jeſus Chriſt*, which *Tremel.* ſaith, is here underſtood by this *Uriel*, *Tremel. Annot in c. 4. 1 lib. Eſdr.* that ſignifieth, *Lux & Sapientia Dei*, the Light and Wiſdom of God, which *Chriſt Jeſus* is, as St. *Luke* teſtifieth, ſaith the very

very ſame thing; for he tells us, That *many are called*, but *few are choſen*: and more plainly, he ſaith, *That wide is the gate*, and *broad is the way, that leadeth to deſtruction, and many there be that go in thereat*: And *ſtrait is the gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it*: And he ſheweth the reaſon hereof to be the very ſame, that *Eſdras* had ſet down before; for he ſaith to *Nicodemus*, That *this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men love darkneſs more then light*, becauſe *their deeds are evil*; for Chriſt came into the world, not to condemn the world, but to ſave the world; to ſeek the *loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael*, and to teach us the way that would lead us to eternal life. Luk. 11. Matth. 7. 13. John 3.

And therefore, when the young worldling came to Chriſt and ſaid, *Maſter, ſpeak to my brother, that he divide the Inheritance with me*: our Saviour grants him not his deſire, that was ſo pernicious to him, but he gives him far better things then he deſired, that if he accepted the ſame, would prove moſt advantagious unto him; for he, like a Citizen of this world, had his mind only ſet to gain his Brothers inheritance; and our Saviour gives him counſel, to think of another world, and to ſeek for that eternal inheritance, that would make him eternally happy: And ſo he takes occaſion from his unjuſt deſire, to ſhew unto us all, what juſtly and chiefly ſhould be deſired. From whence you may obſerve: Luk. 12. 13.

1. That if with this young man we come to *Chriſt* to pray for any thing, he will either give us what we deſire, if our deſire be good, or better then we deſire, if we deſire what is evil for us: For, as we read of *Pompey* the Great, and of *Titus* the Son of *Veſpaſian*, that was called, *Delicia generis humani*, The delights of mankind, that they were ſo courteous to all Petitioners, that none departed ſad or diſcontented from them, ſaying, That, *Non oportet quenquam à Cæſaris colloquio triſtem diſcedere*, it was not fit that any man ſhould go ſad away from *Cæſars* conference: ſo much better may we ſay of Chriſt, who is clemency and bounty it ſelf, and therein ſo far excelling

1. Special Obſervations from the former Point. *Obſervat.* 1.

excelling them, as the ocean Sea exceeds a drop of water, that if we come to him we ſhall never depart empty away, and we ſhall never looſe our labour, but we ſhall be ſure to have, either what we deſire, or better then we deſire. And we ought the more willingly to come unto him, becauſe he doth ſo lovingly invite us, ſaying, *Come unto me all you that are weary and heavy laden*; and then doth ſo graciouſly promiſe, that he will eaſe us, and not only give us the health of our bodies, which was all that the Leapers deſired, but alſo reſt for our ſouls, which is the beſt thing that can be wiſhed.

Matth. 11.

Obſervat. 2. You may obſerve from hence, That *Gods wayes are not as our wayes*, nor his *thoughts as our thoughts*, for we commonly turn good into evil; and as the Apoſtle ſaith, *We turn the graces of God into wantonneſs*; as abuſing wine and ſtrong drink unto drunkenneſs, our riches to oppreſs our neighbours, our wit to deceive one another, and our ſtrength to wound and kill our own brethren, even as *Cain*, *Romulus*, and *Caracalla* have done before us. But God, as he called light out of darkneſs, ſo out of our evil he draweth good: and as in *Sampſons* Riddle, *Out of the eater came meat, and out of the ſtrong came ſweetneſs*; ſo out of the death of Chriſt, which was the moſt execrable act, and the moſt horrible murder, that ever was committed, God drew the ſatisfaction for all our ſins, and the ſalvation of all his Saints: and out of inteſtine wars, we ſee how he produceth a happy peace, as he did to *Solomon* after the dayes of *David*: And ſo here Chriſt, out of the ill deſire of this undiſcreet man, doth, *arripere anſam*, take hold of this occaſion, to make this moſt excellent Sermon, that the Evangeliſt ſetteth down from the 15. verſe to the 41.

Eſay 55. 8.

Judg. 14. 14.

The method that Chriſt uſeth, and which we ſhould imitate.

And of this Sermon I have choſen this thirty one verſe to treat of, at this time; which is like *Janus*, looking backward and forward; backward in the diſcretive conjunction, and word *At*, *but*, that noteth unto us what we ſhould not do; and forward in all the other words, that do fully teach us what we ſhould do: anſwerable to the method that the Pro-

phet

phet *David* propoſeth unto us, ſaying, *Eſchew evil, and do good, and dwell for evermore*; and which is the method that we ought all to follow.

1. To take notice, and to obſerve, what we ſhould not do, and what evils we ſhould eſchew: for, as a good Gardiner will firſt root out all noyſome and hurtfull weeds, before he can plant and ſow his ſweet and pleaſant flowers; ſo muſt we root out all ſins and vices, before any grace or virtue can be planted in us: and as there was a Law in *Rome*, *de purgandis fontibus*, of making clean their Wells and Fountains of water; ſo muſt the fountains of our hearts be cleanſed, before we can receive the graces of God Spirit; becauſe, as *Solomon* ſaith, *The holy Spirit of diſcipline flieth from deceit, and dwelleth not in the body that is ſubject unto ſin*, and can no more ſtand in one heart, than the Ark of God and the Idol *Dagon* could ſtand upon one Altar; and then, as S. *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, If thine hand be full of Counters, thou muſt caſt them out of thine hand, before thou canſt receive it full of Gold: ſo, if thy heart be full of ſins, thou muſt cleanſe the ſame, and caſt thy ſins away, before there can be any room for the graces of God. 1. The negative part.

Therefore our Saviour firſt of all telleth us, *what we ſhould not do*; that is, not to be *too carefull*, and ſolicitous for the things of this world, but to take heed, and *beware of covetouſneſs*; And to that end he laboureth much, and produceth many reaſons to pluck up, out of our hearts, this evil weed of *Covetouſneſs*, which, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *is the root of all wickedneſs*.

And the Summ and ſubſtance of the whole Diſcourſe is this; that of all the wealth and riches of the whole world, no man, no King, no Lord, can have any more, but his food and rayment; And the Providence of God hath ſo wiſely diſpoſed things, that every man, the pooreſt man hath theſe things, though not ſo excellent, yet competent, while he liveth: as we ſee, the poor Labourer hath his food of coarſe bread and roots, as healthfull to him, and his ſleep as delightfull, 1 Tim. 6. 10.

full, and oftentimes better then the daintieſt Diet is to the greateſt Glutton; and the mean man that is clad in Frize, or with *John Baptiſt*, in Camels hair, may be, and is, as well preſerved from the heat of Summer, and the cold of Winter, and hath his nakedneſs as well covered thereby, which is all the uſe and end of apparel, as they that are clothed in Purple or Scarlet, or fine Linnen.

And this Providence of God, to find competent food and rayment for all men, the poor as well as the rich, our Saviour illuſtrateth by the example of the Fowls of Heaven and the Lillies of the field, whereof the one, *i. e.* the Fowls, are ſufficiently fed, though they neithe ſow nor reap; and the other, *i. e.* the Lillies, are as bravely clad, though they neither weave nor ſpin; And yet *Solomon* in all his royalties, *was not arrayed like one of theſe*, nor all the colors in the Court of *Spain* cannot make ſo glorious a ſhow as theſe fading flowers: and *Sardanapalus* Diet, or *Heliogabalus* fare; that, as *Herodian* ſaith, feaſted on the rareſt Fiſh, when he was the furtheſt from the Sea, and would have the daintieſt Fleſh and Fowls, that could be gotten, when he was neareſt unto the Sea, could add no more unto their ſtature, then the Ravens carkaſes, or the Horſe his graſs, doth any whit leſſen his full growth: and therefore, ſeeing none can have but food and rayment, S. *Paul* ſaith, that *having food and rayment, we ſhould therewith be contented.*

Herodian. *in vita Heliogabali.*

1. Tim. 6. 8.

But ſeeing we are all ſo bewitched with the love of this world, that we ſpend moſt of our time, and beſtow moſt labour, and weary our ſelves in the purſuit of the vanities of this world; give me leave to explain unto you four ſpecial properties of theſe wordly things, that will ſhew unto you the great folly of them that are their greateſt followers, and are moſt delighted with them, and beautified by them: for,

The four inſeperable properties of all worldly things.

1. They are variable.
2. They are unprofitable.
3. They are deceitfull.
4. They are very hurtfull.

1. They

1. They are variable; and *Solomon* tells us, they are all vanities, *& evaneſcentia tranſeundo*, and vaniſhing away by paſſing away, from one to another; as being with one to day, with another to morrow, and gone again from him the next day after; as the Stories tell us, how *Cheops*, King of *Egypt*, that built the *Pyramides* all of *Theban* Marble, and kept every day above thirty thouſand men afore that work, became ſo poor, that he was fain to proſtitute his Daughter to relieve his neceſſities: And of *Cræſus*, the rich King of *Lydia*, the Poet ſaith, 1. They are variable.

Irus & eſt ſubito, qui modo Cræſus erat:

He ſuddenly became as poor as *Irus*. And to what end ſhould I tell you of *Caius Marius*, that was ſeven times Conſul, and yet was brought ſo low, as to hide his head in the Fens of *Mynturnes*: Or of *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, that had fettered many a noble *Carthaginian*, yet at laſt found himſelf fettered in *Carthage*: Or of *Beliſarius*, that brave Commander, and moſt excellent Souldier, under *Juſtinian*, and that was more famous then the King of *Sweden*; and had taken *Gilimer* and *Vitiges*, two mighty Kings, his Priſoners; yet came to ſo low an ebb, as to cry, *Date obolum Beliſario, quem virtus exaltavit, malitia depreſſit, et fortuna cæcavit*; O give one half penny to *Beliſarius*, whom Vertue advanced, Malice ſuppreſſed, and Fortune hath made now a poor blind Beggar! Or of a thouſand more, that Hiſtories do record, to have been tumbled from the top of all honour, wealth, and dignity, to the loweſt degree of all miſery; when as within theſe few years your own eyes may ſee and obſerve thouſands of wealthy men, and honourable perſons that are brought to the duſt, and to have nothing: and a thouſand of others, that had nothing, to become filled, ſome with the riches of *Egypt*, and others with the ſpoils of *Iſrael*: which doth ſufficiently ſhew unto us, how vain and variable a thing is wealth, honour, and all other worldly things, that turn round like a wheel,

Et ut Luna mutantur, And are as changeable as the Moon, and unconstant like the Wind.

2. They are unprofitable.

2. As they are vain and variable, so they are unprofitable, for none of all these things can redeem our souls from hell, nor make satisfaction for one sin: when as the Prophet tells us, That *thousands of rams, and ten thousand rivers of oyle*, will not satisfie our God *for the sin of our soul*: And the Prophet *David* saith, It will cost more *to redeem our souls then so*: And Christ himself saith, *What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?* Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul? As if he had said, All the wealth and all the honour in the world are not sufficient to redeem one soul: The which thing St. *Peter* meaneth, when he saith, That *we were not redeemed with corruptible things*, as silver and gold, that could not do it, but with *the pretious blood of Jesus Christ*.

Mich. 6. 7.

Matth. 16. 26.

1 Pet. 1. 28.

And as all the riches of the world cannot purchase the redemption of one soul, so no more can they procure the health of our bodies: For the Poet tells us,

Non domus & fundus, non aris acervus & auri
Ægroto domini deducunt corpore febres:

They can neither deliver us from death, nor preserve us in health, nor yet keep us out of prison, when God delivereth us into the hands of our enemies: And therefore the wise man saith, That when the rich mens eyes are opened, they themselves will cry out, *what hath pride profited us?* Or, *what hath the pomp of riches availed us?* Just nothing; because they are but like the Spiders web, that, as the Prophet saith, *will make no garment for us.*

Sap. 5. 8.

3. They are all deceitful.

3. All the things of this world are deceitful, and do deceive most of those men that love them and rely upon them: for so our Saviour in the Parable of the Sower saith, The seed which fell among thorns, is like unto him, that heareth the Word of God, and presently the care of this world, and *the deceitfulness of riches*, choak the Work; for rich men, and all

Matth. 13. 22.

all other worldlings, are like unto him, that in his ſleep dreameth he feaſteth, and is at a pleaſant banquet, filled with all dainty fare; but when he awaketh, behold, his belly is empty, and his ſoul is hungry: And ſo the Prophet *David* ſaith, *The rich men have ſlept their ſleep, and when they awaked they found nothing in their hands:* And ſo now they are aſleep and dream that themſelves are the moſt happy men in the world, and the dejected Servants of God to be the moſt miſerable; but when death openeth their eyes, and their ſouls are once out of their bodies, they do ſee that now all worldly things have forſaken them, and they muſt go naked of all wealth, and diſrobed of all honour, before the ſeat of Judgment, to give a ſtrict account of their ſtewardſhip, how they have gotten, and how they have imployed all their wealth: and then they will confeſs, as you ſee they do, in the fifth of *Wiſdom*, *O how were we deceived!* for theſe are they, *Quos habebamus in riſum*, whom we derided, and had in a parable of reproach; we fools thought their life madneſs, and their end without honour, and our ſelves only happy; but now *they are among the Sons of God*, and their lot among the Saints, and *we have erred from the way of truth*, and the light of underſtanding hath not ſhined unto us; *Et ſic decipimur ſpecie recti*, and thus in all theſe things we do but, as *Ixion* did, imbrace a Cloud for *Juno*, and ſo deceive our ſelves with the ſhadow of things.

Sap. 5. What the worldlings at laſt do confeſs

Sap. 5. 3, 6, 5.

4. The things of this world, as riches, honours, and the like, are not only deceitful, but alſo hurtful, and ſo hurtful, that the Apoſtle ſaith, They that will be rich *do fall into temptations, and a ſnare, and into many hurtful and fooliſh luſts, which drown men in deſtruction and perdition*: For as the Vipers do gnaw out the bowels of their own Dams, ſo the riches, honours, authorities, and the like things of this world, do many times prove the only bane and poyſon that deſtroy their owners, both in this world and in the world to come: As witneſſeth the ſtory of that rich *Roman* Citizen, who having done nothing againſt the Commonwealth, nor any man elſe, that he knew of; yet being deſirous to ſee the proſcribed, he

4. They are hurtful.

1 Tim. 6. 9.

finds himself with the first in the Proscription; and then he cries out, That it was his fair house at *Nola*, and not any thing that ever he did, had undone him, and caused him to be proscribed: So *Plotius Plancus*, the brother of *Minutius Plancus*, Consul and Censor of *Rome*, was so rich, and lived so delicately, that being sought for by the Souldiers, during the Proscription of the Triumvirate, to be put to death, and being hid in a very sure place by the faithfulness of his Servants, he was betrayed and discovered, only by the smell of his perfumes; as was also *Muleasses*, King of *Tunis*, discovered in like manner, as *Paulus Jovius* recordeth: whereupon the Poet saith,

How vanities and vain desires have destroyed many men.

Valer. Maxim. l. 6. c. 18.

Jovius hist. l. 43.

So many men, whom vertue might have saved,
Are by fond pleasures of their lives bereaved.

And so many Women too: For *Demonica*, a Maid of the City of *Ephesus*, promised to *Brennus*, that besieged the same City, to deliver up the Town unto him, if for a recompence he would give her all the golden Chains and Bracelets of the *Gaules*, to which *Brennus* yielded; and after he got the City, he caused all his people to cast all the golden Jewels they wore about them, into the lap of this covetous Maid; and she being oppress with the weight of so much gold, yielded her life under it: And *Titus Livius* relateth the like story of the daughter of *Sp. Tarpeius*.

But to search no further for ancient examples to confirm this point, How many men have we seen searched after, imprisoned, and killed, for being rich and of great possessions, and being in honour and authority; which perhaps had never been looked after, if they had been poor and of no command, and had neither place nor wealth to lose, and their persecutors to gain nothing thereby? For you know the old saying, *Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator*, The poor traveller that hath never a penny to lose, never fears the thief, when the rich Merchant oftentimes loseth both his life and his treasure.

And

And *Dives* the rich Glutton will tell you, that the riches and treasures of this world do not only prejudice their possessors in this life, but most of all in the life to come.

And therefore well doth our Saviour advise us, and say, *Labour not for the food that perisheth*, that is, labour not so much for any thing that vanisheth, and is of no certain continuance; but labour for that *which endureth for ever*, and which will bring us to eternal life: And well doth he here perswade us, not to be too careful for the things of this world, especially because they are all so vain, so fruitless, so perfidious, and so pernicious unto their possessors, that too greedily do hunt after them. And so much shall serve to be spoken for the Negative part of this Text, that teacheth us, *What we should not do.* John 6. 27.

2. In the Affirmative part Christ setteth down, *What we should do*, that is, *Seek the Kingdom of God*, &c. 2. The Affirmative part.

In which words you may observe these two parts.

{ 1. A *Precept.* 2. A *Promise.* } Or else, { 1. A *Work.* 2. A *Reward.* } And

1. In the Work or Precept, you have three things to be observed. 1. In the work three things to be considered.

1. An act to be done: ζητεῖτε, *Seek ye.*
2. The things that are to be sought: and they are two things.
   { 1. The *Kingdom of God.* 2. *His Righteousness.* }
3. The time when we are to seek them, first of all, *Seek ye first the Kingdom of God.*

1. The act injoyned is, *Seek ye*; and if Christ had said no more, but, *seek ye*, all men would have readily obeyed his 1. The act that is injoyned.

his command; for all men ſeek. And now, they ſay, we have a Sect of Profeſſors that are called *Seekers*; but as thoſe ſilly women, whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, That they are *ever learning*, and yet *never come to the knowledge of the truth*: So our Saviour ſaith, That many men will ſeek, but they ſhall not find, becauſe they ſeek amiſs; and that is,

2 Tim. 3. 7.

Why men find not what they ſeek for.

Either
1. What they ought not to ſeek: Or,
2. When they ſhould not ſeek it: Or,
3. Where it is not to be found: Or,
4. Not ſo carefully as they ought to ſeek it.

1. What we ought not to ſeek for.

1. The worldlings ſeek indeed: But what do they ſeek? *Quærenda pecunia primum*; and for the wealth of this world, *Currit mercator ad Indos*: And ſo the Lawyer ſeeks, the Phyſitian ſeeks, the Divine ſeeks, and every man ſeeks for ſomething; and too many ſeek for that which ſhould not be ſought for; for revenge, or for their neighbours goods, and therefore they ſhall not find this Kingdom of God.

2. When it is too late to ſeek.

2. Others ſeek for what they ſhould ſeek for, *i.e.* the Kingdom of God; and yet they find it not; becauſe that, with thoſe fooliſh Virgins whereof our Saviour ſpeaketh, they ſeek to enter when the door is ſhut; for as it is too late to ſhut the door when the ſteed is ſtollen, ſo many times it is to no purpoſe to knock when the door is ſhut, or to ſeek when it is too late: for ſo *Dives*, *Qui negavit micas in terris, rogavit guttas in pœnis*, which denied the crums to *Lazarus* on earth, deſires a drop in hell, but he is denied; and ſo ſhall all they be denied, *Qui quærunt ſalutem in medio Gehennæ, quæ operata eſt in medio terræ*, which ſeek for ſalvation and help in the midſt of Hell, or of Purgatory, which was wrought in the midſt of the earth, and ſhould be ſought after while we live on earth: And therefore the Prophet *Eſay* biddeth us, To *ſeek the Lord while he may be found*; and that is now in the Church, and not hereafter in Purgatory; for *now is the time acceptable*, *now is the day of ſalvation*.

Matth. 25. 10.

Eſay 55. 6.

3. Others

3. Others ſeek it and find it not; becauſe they ſeek it in the place where it is not to be found: for, as they that ſeek for counſel among *Fools*, and honeſty among *Knaves*, and truth among *Hereticks*, may ſeek long enough, and yet miſs to find them; ſo they that ſeek for the Kingdom of God, and the righteouſneſs of Chriſt in the Dominion of *Antichriſt*, or among unrighteous Rebels, ſhall hardly find it. And therefore we muſt ſeek it where it may be found, and that is in the true Church of God, and in his Holy Scripture: and not in the Synagogue of Satan, or in the *Fanatique* Conventicles of our upſtart Sectaries, or in any *Popiſh* and abſolete Traditions of the Church of *Rome*.

3. Where it is not to be found.

4. Others alſo ſeek the *Kingdom of God*, and yet find it not, becauſe they ſeek it ſo *coldly* and ſo *carleſly* as they do; for *great things* cannot be had without *great labour*. And therefore *Solomon* ſaith, he that would find *Wiſedom*, muſt ſearch for it *as for Silver*, and ſeek for it as we ſeek *for hidden Treaſure*. And you ſee, the *Worldling* cannot get a little wealth without labour, the *Lawyer* cannot underſtand the Law without *ſtudy*; and do you think, with our fooliſh *Enthuſiaſts*, that we ſhall underſtand the *Holy Scripture* without paineſtaking? Surely, they that cannot underſtand *Terence* without a *Comment*, ſhall never be able to expound the deep Myſteries of the *Scripture*, and to reconcile the *repugnant Texts* thereof without Books and without Labour; for, as St. *Aug.* ſpeaketh, *Quidquid eſt, crede mihi, in Scripturis illis, altum & divinum eſt*, Whatſoever is in thoſe Scriptures, believe me, it is high and Divine; and though in ſome places it is like a *ſhallow Foord*, wherein a Lamb may wade, and the *meaneſt man* may underſtand *what he ſhould do*, and the main points of his belief; yet in many other places, you ſhall find it like the *deep Ocean*, wherein the greateſt Elephant may ſwim, and the *beſt Wits* fail to underſtand it: And if the *Citizen* cannot get his Wealth, nor the *Scholler* his Learning without labour and pains, do you think to find and to attain to the Kingdom of God by a cold and careleſs ſeeking after it? No, no, that cannot be, *Quia non dormientibus ſed pugnantibus adveniet regnum Dei*,

4. When they ſeek it ſo carelеſly.

Prov. 2. 4.

How no great nor good thing can be had without labour.

Dei, the Kingdom of God falleth not into the Sleepers lap, but they that ſtrive for it, ſhall obtain it; and therefore our Luke 13. 24. Saviour bids us, *ſtrive to enter in at the narrow gate*; and he ſaith, that the Kingdom of God ſuffereth *violence*, and the *violent take it away*.

And ſo you ſee, how we ought to ſeek for any thing that we would find; when, and where, and how it may be found; that is, with ſuch pains and care, as it ought to be ſought. Now,

2. The thing that we ought to ſeek for.

2. Our Saviour, thinking it not enough to bid us *ſeek*, leſt we ſhould miſtake the thing, that we ſhould ſeek, and paſſing by all other things that are ſcarce worth the ſeeking, or much looking after, he ſetteth down that *Unum neceſſarium*, and that Pearl of *invaluable* price, which we ought to ſeek, that is, *the Kingdom of God*.

And who would not ſeek *a Kingdom*? Truly if Chriſt had ſaid no more, but *ſeek a Kingdom*, I think enow would have been ready enough to ſeek it: for, it is ſtrange, ſaith *Camerarius*, to conſider of the *inordinate* deſire that men have had to *reign* and to *rule* as Kings; what *Villainies* they have committed to become Kings; and what *Execrable* things they have don to continue Kings; for *Amurath the Third* cauſed five of his younger Brethren to be ſtrangled in his preſence: and *Iſmael*, the ſecond Son to *Techmas* King of *Perſia*, did put to death as many of his Bretheren, as he could find, and all the Princes that he ſuſpected, to have any deſire to his Kingdom; that ſo, they might *reign* and *rule* without fear; and *Soliman* miſtruſting his own Son *Muſtapha*, when he returned Victorious from the *Perſian* War, and was received with ſuch general applauſe cauſed him preſently to be ſtrangled, and Proclamation to be made throughout all the Army, that there muſt be but *one God in Heaven*, and one Emperour, that is, *himſelf*, upon Earth: and *Camerarius*, ſaith that this is a perpetual cuſtom in the race of the *Ottomans* and *Turkiſh* Souldans, to put all that pretend to ſucceſſion unto death. Neither is it only a *Turkiſh* cuſtom to do ſo; but it is the practice of *moſt of them* that are bewitched with this *inordinate* deſire to rule *as*

Camerar. *l.* 5. *c.* 8.

The ambitious and inordinate deſire of men to reign as Kings.

Kings

Kings to do the like; for *Plutarch* writeth that *Deiotarus*, having many Sons, and being desirous that only one of them should reign, slew all the rest with his own hands; and *Justin* saith that *Phrahartes*, the Son of *Horodes*, King of the *Parthians*, killed his own Father, and after that, massacred all his Bretheren, that he might reign and rule alone. And the Sacred Storie sheweth, that the very people of God, the Sons of *Israel*, were not free from this fault, but were pestered with this disease; for *Abimelech*, the Son of *Gedeon*, slew seventy of his Bretheren in one day, and played many other Tragical parts, that he might make himself a King; and the furious ambition of *Absolon* did let him on to play the *Parricide*, and to end his Fathers days, that he might reign in his place. Judges 9. 2 Sam. 15 16.

And not to go from our own home, did not *Henry the Fourth*, put by *Richard the Second*, his own King and Cozen German, that himself might be the King? And did not *Richard the Third*, cause the true King and his own Nephews, the Sons of his own Brother *Edward the Fourth*, to be done to death, that he himself might be King? And did not that *arch-Rebel* and Traytor now of late amongst our selves, play the like Tragical parts, that he might gain the rule of these Kingdoms? And so did many others in many other Kingdoms: for there is not any thing so Sacred, which the great men of this world, that desire to be made greater, will not violate, and spare neither *King*, *Father*, *Brother*, or Friend, to bring themselves unto *advancement*, and to be the rulers of the People, and to have the command and power over their Goods, and Lives; as the proof hereof is seen in *Antoninus Caracalla*, who when he had murthered his own Brother *Geta* in his Mothers lap, and betwixt her arms, and being advised by some of his friends to *Canonize* him among the *Heroes* and to place him among the *Gods*, to mitigate the thought of so execrable a fact, answered like a wretch, *sit divus, modo non sit vivus*, let him be a *God* among the dead so he be not alive among *Men*; so great an enemy is the inordinate desire of bearing rule to all Piety and right; saith mine Author. Camerar. *quo supra.*

Therefore our Saviour doth not stop when he had said, *seek*

a Kingdom, which he knew moſt men would be ready enough and ſome too ready to do, without bidding: but he addeth τὴν βασιλειαν τῦ θεῦ, *the Kingdom of God*; and not the Kingdom of *this world*, nor the Kingdom of the *Antichriſt*, nor of ſin, but the *Kingdom of God*. And the Kingdom of God, is taken many waies; but eſpecially,

The Kingdom of God three fold.

1. For the Kingdom of *Nature*.
2. For the Kingdom of *Grace*.
3. For the Kingdom of *Glory*.

1. The Kingdom of nature.

The firſt is all the world, Heaven, Hell, Sea and Earth; and all men, *good* and *bad*, are the ſubjects of this his Kingdom; for he is, *Rex univerſæ terræ, & ſuper omnes nationes mundi*, whom he ruleth with his mighty *power*, and by his *wiſedom* diſpoſeth all things ſweetly, even when he permitteth the wicked to flouriſh, and chaſteneth his own children *every morning*; our King doing herein, as the Husband-man doth with his Oxen, *mactandus liber ibit ad paſcua, ſervandus jugo premitur*, that which is appointed for the *ſlaughter* ſhall freely run to the beſt Paſture, but that which is to be *preſerved* ſhall be preſſed under the Yoak.

2. The Kingdom of Grace.

2. The Kingdom of *Grace* comprehendeth not *all creatures* nor *all men*, but the *elect* only, that is, the good and godly men, in whoſe *hearts* this King writeth his *holy Laws*, and ruleth them by his *Spirit*, that guideth and directeth them to obſerve his Laws.

3. The Kingdom of Glory.

3. The Kingdom of *Glory* is that, which the Apoſtle deſcribeth, whoſe *joyes* paſſeth all underſtanding, whoſe *ſubjects* are the Saints and Angels, and whoſe King is Jeſus Chriſt, the *King of kings*.

The firſt of theſe was eſtabliſhed by *power*, when the Almighty God *created* all things by his powerful Word, or the *Word of his power*, which is Jeſus Chriſt; but it ſhall be finiſhed through its *weakneſs*, when *languiſhing* Nature, that ſtill groweth weaker and weaker, can hold out no longer.

The ſecond was begun in *weakneſs*, when Chriſt the Son of God

God began the ſame in the infirmity of our fleſh, and to gather his Church by the preaching of a few Fiſher-men; but it ſhall end in power, when after he hath put all his enemies under his feet, he ſhall by the power of his Deity abſolve the ſame, and deliver it, as the Apoſtle ſheweth, *unto God his Father*: but, 1 Cor. 15.

The third ſhall begin in power, and continue in power without ending: when as the Poet ſaith, *Glorioſum Imperium ſine fine dabit,*

— *Cui nec metas rerum, nec tempora ponit*; God ſhall give us a glorious Kingdom, without ending, and eternal happineſs unto his Saints: where there ſhall be no fight, becauſe they have no enemie; no tears, becauſe they can recieve no hurt; no fear, becauſe there is no danger; and no grief, becauſe there is no evil, but all peace, all joy, all felicity, becauſe *God will be all in all.*

And of theſe three Kingdoms we ought to ſubmit our ſelves with all contentedneſs unto the firſt, and with all care and diligence to ſeek the ſecond, that ſo to our everlaſting comfort, we may attain unto the third. Which kingdom we ſhall never come unto, unleſs we ſeek the ſecond, which is the kingdome of grace, as we ought to do: for, as among the *Romans* none came to the Temple of Honour, but by the Temple of Virtue; ſo none ſhall come to the Kingom of glory, but the Subjects of the Kingdom of grace; and therefore we muſt ſeek for that as we ought to do: and that is,

1. Generally, that the Church of Chriſt may be enlarged by the preaching of the Goſpel, and by all other ways that we can to convert men to the faith of Chriſt, and not to pervert them by wicked errours, or the evil examples of an ungodly converſation.

2. Particularly, that the Spirit of God, and not the Spirit of Satan, the grace of Chriſt, and not our fleſhly luſts, or any other ſin might reign in us, and rule our hearts to do all things according to Gods Laws; that ſo we our ſelves might be members of his Church and ſubjects of this kingdom.

And, as I told you before, our ſeeking for this kingdom,

must not be as children seek for their learning, coldly and carelesly, as indifferent whether they get little or much; but, as the woman that lost her groat lighted a Candle, and swept the house, and sought diligently for it till she found it; so must we seek for this kingdom with all diligence, and never leave seeking till we find it; for, *Non mollis est via ad astra*, the way to heaven is not easie, nor strewed over with sweet flowers; but we must through many tribulations enter into the kingdom of Heaven; Indeed, the Poet can tell you, that *facilis descensus averni*, the way to hell is very easie, and you may soone slide thither by any sin; *Sed revocare gradus, superasque evadere ad auras, Hic labor, hoc opus est*; but to climb up to heaven requires labour and pains, and they that think otherwise, do but deceive themselves, because there are many hindrances, and rubs, and obstacles in our way to keep us back from this kingdom: as this present world, that made *Demas* careless of the world to come; and our own flesh, that like *Dalilah* lyeth in our bosome, and is more dangerous than the world, and the old Serpent the *Devil*, that goeth about like a roaring Lion, seeking whom he may devour; And therefore, seeing it is so hard a matter to pass through the Pikes of these enemies, *Abjicienda est omnis desidia & ignavia*; We must cast away all sloth and idleness, saith Saint *Chrysostom*: *& quia angusta via, robustâ animâ opus est*, and because our enemies are so mighty, we must be strong, and of good courage, that we may overcome the world, subdue the flesh, and resist the Devil, who is *Leo inter formicas*, a Lion among those that fear him; but *formica inter Leones*, a coward among Lions, running away like *Thyrsites* before *Achilles*; for, if you *resist the Devil, he will flie from you*, saith the Apostle.

How easie a matter it is to slide into hell.

How difficult to climb to heaven.

Chrysost. hom. 3. in *Johan.*

James 4. 7.

And if you strive to pass through these dangers, and desire to know the way to Gods Kingdom, you shall understand, that, as the ascent to *Solomons* Throne was *Per sex gradus*, by six stairs, so we have six special steps to ascend to the Throne of grace.

2 Chron. 9. 18 Six especial steps to the kingdom of heaven.

1. Regeneration.

The first is by Regeneration, *Quia nascimur ad laborem, & re-*

& renaſcimur ad ſalutem, becauſe we are born the children of wrath, to labour and to miſeries; and therefore we muſt be born again, that is, by the waſhing of water, and the working of Gods Spirit, if you would walk towards this kingdom: for, *Except you be born of Water, and of the Spirit, you cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven*, ſaith our Saviour. John 3.

The ſecond is, by Outward profeſſion, that is, as *Solomon* ſaith, by *following the ſteps of the flock unto the tents of the Shepherds*; and, as they do, to profeſs the Faith, and never to be aſhamed of the Croſs of Chriſt. 2. Outward profeſſion. Cant. 1. 8.

The third is, by Hearing Gods Word, *i. e.* the truth of the holy Scripture; and not the dreams and traditions of men; for *my Sheep hear my voyce*, ſaith Chriſt, and if you hear his voyce, *your ſouls ſhall live*, ſaith the Prophet *Iſaiah*: but the hearing of old newly revived Hereſies is not the way to this kingdom, but the way from it; and therefore we are ſtatly forbidden to hear the doctrine of all ſuch deceitfull teachers. 3. Hearing Gods Word. Jer. 23. 16. and c. 12. 6. Deut. 13. 3. John 10. 5. Matt. 7. 15.

The fourth is by Believing Gods Word, and giving credit unto his ſayings; even as *Abraham credidit Deo*, believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs; for otherwiſe, if we believe not what we hear, our hearing of it will avail us nothing, but rather be a witneſs againſt us; and yet, as the Prophet *Iſaiah* demands, *Who hath believed our report?* So, I fear, that of many, which come to hear Gods word, there be but few that believe what we ſay, when as we have too many men like thoſe whereof *Tertullian* ſpeaketh, *Qui credebant Scripturis, ut crederent adverſus Scripturas*, *i. e.* to believe what they pleaſed out of the Scripture; and many more, that do lead their lives ſo lewdly, and ſo diſſolutely, and follow after the vanities of the world ſo eagerly, as if they believed there were neither heaven nor hell. 4. Believing Gods word. Iſai. 53. 1.

The fifth is, By continual Prayers, and conſtant invocation upon God, that he would open our ears that we might hear, and ſo work in our hearts, that we might believe the truth of God; for ſo our Saviour biddeth us, *Ask and you ſhall have, ſeek and you ſhall find, knock and it ſhall be opened unto you*; and S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, If any man would find out the truth, *agant orando*, 5. By continual prayer.

orando, et quærendo, et bene vivendo ut inveniant, Let them pray to God, and ſtudy hard, and live holily, and God will help them to underſtand the truth.

The ſixth and laſt ſtep of this Ladder, that reacheth up to the Kingdom of Heaven, is by *doing the will of God*, and leading our lives according to Gods Laws; for ſo the Apoſtle tells us, *Not the hearers of the Law, but the doers of the Law ſhall be juſtified*: And Chriſt ſaith, *Not every one that ſaith, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven*: So that to hear Sermons, to underſtand Gods Word, and to pray to God, is all in vain, unleſs we do ſtudy and ſtrive withall to do our beſt endeavours to live according to Gods will: And therefore.

Rom. 2. 13.

Matth. 7. 21.

2. Our Saviour, deſirous to ſhew unto us the readieſt way to come to this Kingdom of God, ſaith, *Seek ye the Kingdom of God and his righteouſneſs*, that is, the righteouſneſs which is acceptable in his ſight; and that is, as St. *Paul* ſaith, *To follow peace with all men, and holineſs, without which no man ſhall ſee the Lord*: And you muſt obſerve, that righteouſneſs here is to be referred to God, and not to the Kingdom; becauſe, as *Cajetan* well obſerveth, Βασιλεία is of the feminine Gender, and αὐτῦ of the maſculine; and therefore muſt be referred *ad Θεὸν*, unto God, and not Βασιλείαν, the Kingdom of God.

Matth. 6. 33.

Heb. 12. 14.

Cajetan. in loc.

The which thing, together with infinite ſuch other doubtful and obſcure places of Scripture, doth ſufficiently ſhew unto you, that ignorant, unlearned men, that have neither Arts nor Language, neither Greek nor Latine, but do run to teach others before they have learnt any things themſelves, like thoſe in the *Canticles*, who *watched over others, but kept not their own flock*, are but blind Guides of the people, fitter to lead them into the ditch, then to reſolve them of any doubt, or to convince any learned Heretick.

The righteouſneſs of God taken four wayes.

And further you muſt obſerve, that although the righteouſneſs of God is ſpecially taken four wayes in Scripture, and ſignifieth,

1. That

1. That distributive righteousness, which is called δικαίωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, or *jus Dei*, whereby he punisheth the wicked, and delivereth the innocent, and whereof the Prophet saith, *Thou art set in the throne that judgest right*: And again, *Thou art just, O Lord, and righteous is thy judgement.* 1. Way. Psal. 9. 4. Psal. 119. 137

2. That uprightness which is in God, and is opposed to iniquity, as where the Prophet saith, *The Lord is righteous, and loveth righteousness; his face beholdeth the thing that is right.* 2. Way.

3. The truth of God, as where himself saith, *I the Lord speak righteousness*, that is, nothing but the truth. 3. Way. Esay 45. 19.

4. The mercy of God in Christ, and through Christ, towards us; as where the Prophet saith, *Deliver me in thy righteousness*: And again, *Judge me according to thy righteousness*; that is, according to thy mercy and goodness shewed to us in *Christ Jesus*, who is, as the Prophet saith, *Jehova justitia nostra*, the Lord our righteousness; and so the righteousness of God to us; because, as the Apostle saith, *He was made sin for us*, that we might be made *the righteousness of God in him*, that is, that we might be freely justified before God, through faith in his righteousness. 4. Way. Psal. 31. 1. Psal. 71. 1. Jer. 23. 6. 2 Cor. 5. 21.

Yet by the righteousness of God here in this place, we are to understand it, saith St. *Chrysostom*, in none of the foresaid significations, but for, *Quid odit, et quid amat*, What God loveth as just and righteous, and what he hateth as wicked and unrighteous; that so we might do what he loveth, and shun what he hateth: because, as *Aretius* saith, there is a righteousness besides our justifying righteousness, that is plainly necessary for the obtaining of the Kingdom of God; for though, as our Divines say, *Fides sola justificat*, Faith only justifieth us, and we are freely justified by our faith in Christ, that layeth hold on his righteousness, which is imputed unto us: yet, *Fides justificans nunquam est sola, aut solitaria*, The justifying faith is never alone, separated from the works of that righteousness, which is the inseparable adjunct and concomitant of the justifying faith. *Aret. in loc.*

And

And therefore if you desire to be Citizens of Heaven, and Inheritors of the Kingdom of God, you must be just and righteous men; and your righteousness must not be like the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, in ostentation, to deceive the world, but in deed and verity, in the sight of God; for so Christ tells you plainly, *Except your righteousness*, that is, not only the righteousness of Christ, which is yours by imputation, and which all men know doth by many thousand degrees exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees; but except your own inherent righteousness, which is wrought in you by the Spirit of Christ, *exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, you shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of God.*

James 3. 18. And truly, the want of this righteousness and just dealing among men, is the cause of all mischief, and of all the greatest miseries of this world, and of eternal damnation in the world to come; and the performance of this righteousness would make all men happy, both in this life, and in the life to come: For,

What is the cause of all mischief. 1. What brings Wars, the greatest of all the Plagues that are here on earth, but unrighteous dealing? For righteousness and peace have kissed each other, saith the Prophet; and thou, saith St. *Augustine*, dost love and desire peace, which is the Crown of all worldly happiness, (though now *the crown is fallen from our head, woe unto us that we have sinned*) *Sed justitiam non amabis*, but thou wilt not follow after righteousness; therefore peace shall be far from thee, because *there is no peace to the wicked, saith my God*; no peace to them that shed innocent blood, no peace for unrighteous dealing, to them that take away a mans right, and hold it still perforce.

Lam. 5. 16.

Esay 48. 22.

But their unrighteousness will destroy them, as indeed injustice and unrighteous dealing will undo any people, when a Kingdom shall be translated from Nation to Nation, because of unrighteousness, and when the same shall be, as it was said of *Carthage*, fuller of sins then of men; as we see the Monarchy of the *Assyrians* was translated to the *Medes* and *Persians*;

Perſians; and the moſt famous Republick of the *Romans* ſpoiled, when, forgetting their priſtine equity and juſt dealing, whereby they became ſo great, they began to be unjuſt; and, as the Poet ſaith,

——Menſuraque juris
Vis erat ——

And they meaſured the Law and equity by their ſtrength, and he had the beſt right, that was moſt powerful: as the wicked proclaim it in the Book of *Wiſdom*, *Let our ſtrength be the Law of juſtice*; which hath been the ruine and ſubverſion of many a Nation.

And ſo it will be with us of this Nation, if we caſt away all Juſtice, and hold the truth in unrighteouſneſs; becauſe God is no reſpecter of perſons, and we have no reaſon to think that he will deal any otherwiſe with us, then he hath done with his own choſen people the *Jews*, or with any other unrighteous Generation.

And as unrighteouſneſs is the mother of wars, and the bringer of deſtruction to Nations and Kingdoms, ſo it is the nurſe that breedeth ſtriſe, and increaſeth contentions and Suits of Law among neighbours, and ſo becometh the greateſt enemy to brotherly love, which is the greateſt vertue, and the chiefeſt grace of all Chriſtianity, as Saint *Paul* ſheweth. 1 Cor. 13. ult.

And as unjuſt dealing thus pulleth down upon us all the plagues of Heaven, ſo you may ſee, in the fifth Chapter of the Book of *Wiſdom*, and in Saint *Paul*, and many other places of the holy Scripture, how it excludeth all unrighteous men out of Heaven. But

Therefore let men take heed of maintaining wrongs and oppreſſions.

2. On the other ſide, if you look upon righteouſneſs and juſt dealing, πάντες ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ὑμνοῦσιν, ὡς καλὸν ἡ μὲν σωφροσύνη τε καὶ δικαιοσύνη: ſaith the divine *Plato*; All men cry out with one mouth, How beautiful a thing is temperance and righteouſneſs: *Cicero* calleth this righteouſneſs the Lady and Miſtreſs of all vertues: *Pindarus* ſaith, That χρύσεον ἅμμα

Plato. The praiſe of juſt dealing.

καὶ χρύσεον πρόσωπον, a golden eye and a golden countenance are alwayes to be ſeen in the face of Juſtice: And *Theognis* ſaith,

δὲ Ἐν δ' δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετὴ ἐστιν.

Even as the Latine Poet ſaith,

Juſtitia in ſeſe virtutes continet omnes:

Juſtice is that vertue which comprehends all vertues in it ſelf: For he that is a juſt man wrongeth no man: And *Solomon* ſaith, *The Kings throne is eſtabliſhed by righteouſneſs*: And again he ſaith, That *Righteouſneſs exalteth a Nation*; ſo that both King and Kingdom ſhall proſper through righteouſneſs: And he ſaith further, That although evil purſueth ſinners, yet *to the righteous good ſhall be repaid*; And when the houſe of the wicked ſhall be overthrown, *the tabernacle of the upright ſhall flouriſh*; becauſe God bleſſeth the habitation of the juſt.

Prov. 16. 12.
Prov. 14. 34.
Prov. 13. 21.
Prov. 14. 11.
Chap. 3. 33.

And therefore the very Heathens erected a Temple unto Juſtice, and aſcribed divine worſhip unto *Aſtraa*, which they termed the Goddeſs of Juſtice, and many of them were very juſt, & moſt ſingular obſervers of juſtice; for *Homer* ſaith, That *Sarpedon* preſerved the Kingdom of *Licia*, ἦνον κὴ τὸ σθένει, through juſtice and fortitude: And *Herodian* ſaith of *Pertinax*, That he was both loved and feared of the Barbarians, as well for the remembrance of his vertues in former battels, as alſo, ὅτι μηδένα ἑκὼν ἀδικεῖν φύσει, becauſe wittingly or willingly he never did wrong or injuſtice to any man: *Plutarch* aſcribeth the like vertues to *Lucullus*: *Cicero* to *Pompey*: *Ovid* to *Eriſichthaus*: *Virgil* to *Æneas*: *Suetonius* to *Octavius Auguſtus* his Father; and many others of the Heathens are recorded to have been, like *Ariſtides*, exceeding juſt. And

How juſt and righteous the Heathens were, to the ſhame of our Fanatick and *Cromwellian* Chriſtians in *Ireland*.

I would to God all thoſe that ſay they are Chriſtians, were as juſt as theſe *Heathens* were, or as righteous as the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*; for they were ſo ſtrict in their lives, eſpecially in ſhew, and made ſo great account of *juſtice*, that they would tythe Mynt and Rue, and the reſt of the very ſmalleſt things: and therefore S. *Paul* ſaith that they were the ſtricteſt Sect of all the *Jewiſh* Religion: and yet our Saviour ſaith, *Except your righteouſneſs doth exceed the righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, you ſhall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* So you ſee, the way that leads you to the Kingdom of God, is to be *juſt and righteous*, and ſo honeſt men, without which it is in vain to pray to God, it is in vain to believe in Chriſt, and in vain to rely on him: becauſe, as the Prophet *David* ſaith, you muſt offer to God *the ſacrifice of Righteouſnes*, and then *you may truſt in the Lord.* Pſal. 4. 5.

But wherein doth the *ſacrifice of Righteouſneſs* conſiſt, or how ſhall we become juſt or righteous men, and ſo *acceptable* in the ſight of God? Q. Reſp.

I anſwer, that to be juſt and righteous, and to offer the ſacrifice of righteouſneſs is, *reddere unicuique quod ſuum eſt*, That is, to render

1. To God,
2. To our King,
3. To our Neighbours,
4. To our ſelves,

what belongs to each of theſe; and theſe are like the four Rivers of *Paradiſe* watering the whole Garden of God, that being well obſerved, will make it a *Paradiſe* indeed. 1 Branch of Righteouſneſs.

1. What belongs to God? Our *Fanatique* Enthuſiaſts and *Sectaries*, think that, as God is a Spirit, ſo he requires no more but to be ſerved *in Spirit and truth*; for as the Prophet ſaith *If he be hungry, he will not tell thee*, becauſe all the Beaſts of the Forreſt are his, and *ſo are the cattel upon a thouſand hills*; And therefore the Lord ſaith, my Son give me thy heart, and ſo worſhip me, with *Faith, Hope, Love*, and the like ſpiritual

affections, which are most correspondent to me, that am a Spirit.

That God will be worshipped with all that we have.

But you must know that they are very much deceived: for as God hath made both Body and Soul, and hath given us all that we have, Houses, Lands, Riches, and whatsoever else we do possess, so he will be served and worshipped by all that we have, with our Hearts to love him, with our Tongues to praise him, with our Eys lifted up to behold his wonders, with our Knees bowed down to submit unto him, with our Hands to do the work that he requireth, and with our Wealth and Riches to honour him, as the Wise man commandeth, *Honour God with thy riches.*

And so our Saviour, when he biddeth us *to render unto Cæsar what was Cæsars, and to God what is Gods*, meaneth it of our Wealth and Riches, that we ought to render unto God, and not of these internal services and spiritual worship that we do likewise owe to God; for here the question was of the Tribute and Mony that the *Jews* were to pay to *Cæsar*; and therefore the true sense of our Saviours answer was *secundum materiam subjectam*, according to their question, give *that part* of your Wealth and Riches to *Cæsar*, which belongs to *Cæsar* and *that part* of it to God, which is due to God, that *Cæsar* himself may not have that, which belongs to God.

Q. But then you will demand, what is *that part* and portion which belongs to God, out of that All which God gives unto us.

Resp.

Levit. 27. 30. I answer that they are first the *Tythes*, which God requireth to be payd unto him; and secondly the *Donations*, which his people do freely offer unto him, and God doth most graciously accept them, which is an *unspeakable favour* that the great God, and *creator* of all things, the *giver* of all things, that *owns* all things, and wants nothing, should so *graciously* accept the small gifts of us his poor creatures, far beyond the Clemency of *Xerxes*, that did so curteously accept a little *cold water* that was presented unto him by a poor subject, that had nothing else to offer him.

But

But when any Lands, Houſes, or Monies, or any other part of our Goods is offered unto God, let us not be ſo unjuſt as to rob God thereof: for you may ſee, what the Prophet ſaith, *will a man rob his God*, yet *you have robbed me, in Tythes and Offerings*; that is, in converting the *Tythes* to your own uſes, which I commanded to be paid to uphold my ſervices, and taking thoſe Lands and Houſes into your own poſſeſſions, which moſt *pious men* had offered to maintain my Religion. Mal. 3. 8.

Or if we do this (as I ſee it commonly don in *Ireland* and in too many places in *England*) then let us take heed leſt that, *quorum flagitium imitamur, eorum exitum inveniamus*, we find not the like ſucceſs as they found that had don this before us: And what is that? I will ſhew you ſome examples of good note.

And I will not inſiſt upon the puniſhment inflicted upon *Achan*, *Gehezi*, *Shiſak* King of *Egypt*, *Joas* King of *Iſrael*, *Sennacherib* King of *Aſſyria*, and *Belſhazzar* King of *Babylon*, and others, for their Sacriledg, and Injuſtice againſt God; becauſe you may read the ſame at your leaſure in the holy Scripture.

But I ſhall deſire you to remember, what *Seneca*, a man that knew not Chriſt, ſaith *Sacrilegi dant pœnas, quamvis nemo ſuſque ad Deos manus porrigat*, the robbers of God's right ſhall never eſcape unpuniſhed, though no man crie to God againſt them: as it appeareth, not only by what *Juſtine* writeth, *l.* 4. of *Philomenes*, and what *Lactantius* ſaith of *Fulvius* for robbing the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, but eſpecially by what *Aul. Gellius* writeth, how that after *Quintus Cepio* robbed the houſes of God in the City of *Tolouſe*, as many as touched any part of that ſpoil, *miſero cruciabiliquæ exitu periit.* And we need look no further, then what ſucceeded the ſpoyle that King *Henry the Eighth* made of the goods of the Church; for though he had more Wives then many others of our Kings, yet his Iſſue reached not to the ſecond Generation; and though he gave thoſe ſpoiles to his Nobility, yet it is well obſerved by Sir *Henry Spelman* and others, that in a ſhort time moſt of their Poſterity came welneer to beggerie. Sen. *de Benefic. l.* 5. *c.* 11.

But

The most excellent Speech of *Charles* the Great.

But I will conclude this Point with the words of *Charles* the Great, that was as great a Souldier as any of you, and as good as great: *Novimus multa regna, & reges eorum, propterea cecidisse, quia Ecclesias spoliaverunt resque earum militibus dederunt; quapropter nec fortes in bello, nec in fide stabiles fuerunt, nec victores extiterunt, sed multi vulnerati, & plures interfecti terga dederunt, regnaque, & regiones. & quod pejus est, regna Cœlorum perdiderunt, atque propriis hæreditatibus caruerunt, & hactenus carent*; And I will adde the Charge, that the wise and strenuous Earle of *Strafford* gave to his Son, *William Wentworth*, when he was dying, which is, that As *he would answer it to him in heaven, he should never meddle with any of the Patrimony of the Church*, for it will be the canker that will eat up the rest of his estate, and therefore chargeth him again, as *he will answer him in heaven, never to meddle with it.*

And the reason of all this is, that Religion is the very ground of all our happiness, and the chiefest of all our comfort; and the tythes and donations of Religious men are the main outward props of our Religion; and if with *Sampson* you take away the pillars, you overthrow the house: so take away the means that maintains Religion, and your Religion, like a tottering wal, wil soon fall unto the ground, and then you have dissolved all the ties and associations betwixt God and man, and left us all as aliens and enemies unto God; and therefore, when other mischiefs have their limits, and so hurt but one or other, and there is an end; yet this robbing of God of his right, *turbabit fœdera mundi*, will set the world beside its hinges, and sweep away all our happiness.

And, I hope, this which I have here spoken, will deterr all from Sacriledge, and teach them to be just and righteous, *to render unto God what is Gods.*

The second branch of our righteousness.

2. The next branch of our justice and righteousness is to render unto *Cæsar* what is *Cæsars*. And what doth belong to *Cæsar*, that we ought to render unto him?

I find six special things due unto him, answerable to the six special ensigns and emblems of Royal Majesty. For,

1. The

1. The Sword axacteth *Fear.*
2. The Crown importeth *Honour.*
3. The Scepter requireth *Obedience.*
4. His Person meriteth *Defence.*
5. His Charge calleth for our *Prayers.*
6. The Throne deserveth *Tribute*, without which, his Royalty can never be maintained.

And yet we mutter, and murmur, and are moreav erse to render this duty unto our king then any of all the rest; for here you see, when the *Jews* came to Christ, they question not any other duties, but they demand of him, Is it lawfull to pay tribute unto *Cæsar?* and they were often ready to rebel, rather then to part with their money: and what do Rebels do, but as our late Rebels have done, to undo themselves and their posterity, and bring many miseries upon many others: for, *Qui non vult duci, debet trahi*; he that will not be obedient to the Government, must be forced with punishment.

But they might have considered, as eloquent *Osorius* saith, that *Rex infinita negotia sustinet, æquabile jus omnibus administrat.* The King undergoes infinite affairs, he administreth equal right to all his people, he keepeth away all dangers from the Common-wealth; he rewardeth the faithfull, and restraineth the froward, and he preserveth his Kingdom, both from foraign foes, and intestine frauds, and an hundred things else, which private men cannot conceive. And these things cannot be done, without great means, and much mony, and therefore *Deioces*, when he was elected King of the *Medes*, caused them to build him a most stately Palace, and the famous City of *Ecbatana*, and to give him a goodly band of men for the safeguard of his person, and to provide all other things fitting for the Majesty of a King, and so all the other kings of the *Gentiles* did the like.

Osor. de rebus Eman. l. 12. p. 386.

Herodotus l. 1.

And *Solomon* also, and all the rest of the kings of *Israel* required no small aid and tribute from their Subjects; for though *Tertullian* out of *Deut.* 23. 17. reads it, *There shall not be*, παρασφόρος, a payer of tribute of the Sons of *Israel*; yet *Pamelius* well observes it, that these words are not in the original,

Deut. 23. 17.

original, but are taken out of the *Septuagint*, which alſo ſaith not, Of the Sons, but: ἀπὸ θυγατέρων, of the daughters of *Iſrael*, that is, *ex impudicitia & lupanaribus*, for their diſhoneſty, as it is ſaid in the next Verſe; that *the hire of a Whore, and the price of a Dog, are an abomination to the Lord*; and ſo S. *Auguſtine* uſeth the word πολίτια, for thoſe unchaſte ſacrifices, wherewith ſuch women did oblige themſelves; and ſo doth *Theodoret* likewiſe.

But that the *Jews* payd tribute, it is manifeſt out of 1 *Sam.* 17. 24. where this reward is promiſed to him that killed *Goliah*, that his fathers houſe ſhould be *abſque tributo*, free from all tribute; and, to make it yet more plain, it is ſaid that *Solomon* appointed *Jeroboam ſuper tributa univerſa domus Joſephi*, ſaith the *Vulg. Lat.* that is, of the Tribe of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſes*, as our Tranſlation reads it.

2 Sam. 17. 24.

2 Reg. 1. 28.

Yea, though the *Jews* were the people of God; and thought themſelves free, and no ways obliged to be taxed by foraign Princes; yet after *Pompey* took their City, they paid tribute to the *Romans*, ſaith *Joſephus*; and our Saviour bids them, to render unto *Cæſar* the tribute that was due to *Cæſar*, ſaying, ἀπόδοτε τὰ καίσαρος καίσαρι where he uſeth the ſame word that S. *Paul* uſeth, when he biddeth us *to pay our debts*, and to owe nothing to any man, ſaying, ἀπόδοτε πᾶσι τὰς ὀφειλάς, *Pay to every man that which you owe.*

Luc. 15. c. 18.

Rom. 13.

And rather then himſelf would omit this duty, though he never wrought any other miracle about money; yet herein, when he had never a peny, he would create money in the mouth of a Fiſh, as both S. *Hierom* and the *Interlin.* gloſs do think, to pay for himſelf and his Apoſtle.

And therefore ſeeing the Kings occaſions are ſo great, and the Subſidies, Impoſts, Cuſtomes, Aids, and Exciſes, and the like Taxes are ſo due unto them by the Laws of God and man, they can be neither juſt nor honeſt men, nor be in the way to the kingdom of God, that deny or defraud the king of theſe duties.

What ſhall we ſay then of thoſe men, that will rather wink at malefactours and tranſgreſſours of the Laws, then juſtly bring

bring their Fines into the King's Exchequer? I will ſay nothing at this time, but that I cannot conceive how they are either juſt or righteous men herein, or in the way to the kingdom of God: For whoſoever doth any ways defraud the King of any right that is any ways due unto him, is in the next degree to him that committeth ſacriledge, and robbeth God himſelf: and I believe, that, if it were not for the tricks and quirks of ſome men to quit the offenders, there would be more monies brought unto the King, and fewer faults committed in the Common-wealth.

3. The next branch of Juſtice, is to deal honeſtly with all our neighbours, to deceive no man, to oppreſs no man, to wrong no man: And as our Saviour ſaith, all things, *whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them, for this is the Law and the Prophets*; this is all that the Law requireth, this is all that the Prophets harped upon, and this is all that we need moſt eſpecially to inſiſt upon, to perſwade men to deal juſtly and honeſtly one with another: and where men will not do ſo, to have juſtice and judgment done unto them, which is the onely way to continue peace amongſt us, and to bring a bleſsing upon the whole kingdom: they will bring a plague upon it. The third branch of righteouſneſs. Math. 7. 12.

And becauſe, as I conceive, there was never more need of Juſtice to be executed then now, when of late we were all involved in ſuch confuſion, that as yet could not be reduced to any juſt and perfect poſition, I muſt humbly crave your patience to ſtay a while upon this point.

And whereas there are four ſorts of men concerned to have juſtice done unto them:

1. The *Church-men.*
2. The *Adventurers.*
3. The *Souldiers.*
4. The *Innocent Iriſh Papiſts.*

1. I have often ſhewed, how ominous it is, to weaken the hands of the Clergie, by keeping away their means to diſinable them to do the ſervice of God.

2. For *Adventurers*, that beſtowed their moneys to ſuppreſs the Rebels, and reduce them to their due obedience to his Majeſty.

3. For the *Souldiers* that fought for the ſame ends, they ought juſtly to be rewarded, according to their merit: but for thoſe that for covetouſneſs, to get the Lands either of the Church or of the *Iriſh*, they cared not how, nor how much, nor from whom they got it; I wiſh that their judgment may be according to their deſert, and the merit of their deſire.

And of ſuch, I am ſure there are too many.

4. For the innocent, either *Iriſh Papiſts*, or ejected *Proteſtants*, I fear it may be with many of them, as it was with the *Gibilines*, who being at variance with the *Guelphs* in the City of *Papia*, promiſed to *Facinus Caius*, all the houſes and goods of the *Guelphes*, if he aſſiſted them to get the Victory; which he did; and after he had ſubdued the *Guelphs*, he ſeized upon the goods both of the *Guelphs* and *Gibilines*: and when the *Gibilines* complained, that he brake his covenant, in taking their houſes, and pillaging their goods that were *Gibilines*, the ſaid *Cains* anſwered, It was true indeed, that they were *Gibilines*, but their goods were the goods of *Guelphes*, and ſo belonged unto them, and ſo to him: So, perhaps, the covetous Adventurers, and the greedy Souldiers, may ſay of them, as they do of us of the Church, that they are innocent, and we faithfull to our king; but ours, and their lands and fair houſes, are the lands of Rebels; and therefore, as they do hold ours from us, ſo they will keep theirs from them.

But this is no juſtice, nor *to do as you would be done unto*; for, as *Abraham* ſaid to God, *Wilt thou deſtroy the righteous with the wicked?* And as *Abimelech* ſaid, *Lord, wilt thou ſlay a righteous nation?* So I ſay, God forbid that any innocent man, be he of what Religion he will, ſhould loſe either houſe or lands.

Gen. 18. 23.

But you will ſay, The Iriſh Papiſts are not ſo innocent; for though their hands did act nothing, for fear they could not prevail; yet it may be their hearts did earneſtly wiſh, that all the Proteſtants ſhould be rooted out, and perhaps their Fathers or Grandfathers were as deep in rebellion as any other; and

and therefore they may be as juſtly deprived of their eſtates, as they would have deprived us.

I confeſs that, as when *Cræſus* ſent to the Oracle, to expoſtulate, why he ſhould be ſo hardly dealt withall, that was ſo bountiful unto the Gods, and ſo faithful a ſerver of them? The Oracle anſwered, That for his bounty the Gods preſerved his life, but his Kingdom was tranſlated, and his other affliction happened for the iniquity of *Gyges*, that was the death of *Candaules*: So God may juſtly puniſh the preſent Innocents, for the precedent faults of their fore-fathers; as he did cut off ten Tribes from *Rehoboam* for the ſins of *Solomon*; and he that knows our hearts may juſtly whip us for our evil thoughts.

But we are not to judge of any man for his thoughts, nor to puniſh him for his wiſhes, until they do break forth either into words or acts; becauſe the other muſt be left alone for God.

And therefore, ſeeing that he which condemneth the Innocent, is as abominable to God, as he that abſolveth the wicked, that juſtice ſhould be obſerved, that no innocent man ſhould ſuffer; yet I would not have thoſe deemed Innocents, that are more then apparently known to be very nocent.

There is another degree of juſtice, which ſhould be performed to the oppreſſed *Proteſtants*, that have been ejected out of their eſtates, and to our poor neighbours, that are ready to ſtarve in the ſtreets: For, as Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Eſurientium panis eſt quem tu detines, nudorum indumentum quod tu recludis, & miſerorum pecunia quam tu in arca abſcondis.* And therefore, though we term it alms, yet it is juſtice in us to do it, and they that are able are unjuſt if they do it not.

4. The laſt branch of juſtice concerns our ſelves: for a man may be unjuſt to himſelf, as all covetous men, and the prodigal perſons are, when as the one hath the bleſſings of God, and hath not the heart to uſe them, and the other doth abuſe them, to the ſhame and deſtruction of himſelf, profuſely waſting The fourth branch of our righteouſneſs.

ſting them in feaſting and drinking, or, as ſome do, in beautifying their *Tiaras*, and ſome others in ſweeping the ſtreets with *Silks* and *Velvets*, which are vanities, that I know not how they ſhall anſwer, when they come to appear before Almighty God; and yet we that are the Preachers ſhall be but laught at, for reproving of theſe vanities, and telling them how it is far from that juſtice which we ſhould render unto our ſelves, beſides the abuſe that they offer to Gods creatures.

And thus I have ſhewed you what is juſt and righteous, and directed you the right way to the Kingdom of God. God give us grace to walk therein.

But you will demand, Where is juſtice without partiality now to be found, among Neighbours, or in the Courts of Juſtice, or in the Parliament Houſe? I cannot, and I dare not ſay, you ſhall not find juſtice therein; yet this I dare ſay, I have ſeen faction and friends, contrary to juſtice, to have carried things in all theſe places; and therefore, ſeeing that *Injuſtice and Oppreſſion do make wiſe men mad*, eſpecially if they ſee the ſervants of Rebels and Traitors favoured and countenanced, againſt the moſt faithful ſervants of their King, and the Ambaſſadors of the living God: And ſeeing that as *Solomon* ſaith, *I ſaw the place of judgement, and wickedneſs was there; and the place of righteouſneſs, and iniquity was there*: My advice to you all is, to follow our Saviours counſel, *If any man will ſue thee at the Law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak alſo*: for in ſo doing, in your patience you ſhall poſſeſs your ſouls, and walk in the right way to the Kingdom of God.

Eccleſ. 3. 16.

Matth. 5. 40.

And then ſecondly, what is here promiſed ſhall be undoubtedly performed, *All theſe things ſhall be adminiſtred unto you*, through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, to whom be glory, and honour, and thanks, and praiſe for all his mercies and favours for ever and ever, *Amen*.

THE

THE SIXTH SERMON.

JOHN 3. 14.

And as Moſes lifted up the Serpent in the wilderneſs, even ſo muſt the Son of man be lifted up.

THE Holy Apoſtle Saint *Paul*, ſpeaking of many things that befell the *Jews*, while they wandered in the Wilderneſs, ſaith, πάντα δὲ τύποι συνέβαινον ἐκείνοις : *All theſe things happened to them in a Figure*; and ſo were Types of things to come, for our enſamples, ſaith our Tranſlation; and ſo the Apoſtle proveth at large in his Epiſtle unto the *Hebrews*. As,

1 Cor. 10. 11.

Heb. c. 8. c. 9. and c. 10.

1. *Aaron*,

1. *Aaron* whose type he was. Exod. 28.

1. *Aaron* their High-Prieſt was a Type of our High-Prieſt, *Jeſus Chriſt*, and he aſcending into heaven, left his Apoſtles, and they, the Biſhops, to be his Subſtitutes to govern his Church here on earth, in the place of the High Prieſt, and the Prieſts and Levites were Types of our Prieſts and Deacons; and his holy garments, and moſt glorious ornaments, which the *Rabb.* called *Bidge Zahab*, golden veſtments: as were the *Ephod*, the *Breaſt-plate* with precious *Stones*, the *Urim* and *Thummim*, the *robe* of the *Ephod*, ſet with golden Bells and Pomgranates; the *plate* of the *Miter*, and the *embroydered Coat*, all ſo exceeding glorious, that when *Alexander* ſaw the High-Prieſt *Simeon* the juſt, thus attired, coming to meet him, he was ready to adore him, ſaying, That God had thus appeared unto him the night before.

And ſo indeed he was the Type of our true God, Jeſus Chriſt, and his glorious apparel ſignified the honour, glory and reſpect that ſhould be yielded to the miniſtery of the

2 Cor. 3. 7. Goſpel, and the ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt; for ſo the Apoſtle reaſoneth, that if the miniſtration of death, *i. e.* of the Law written and engraven in ſtones, were thus glorious, and this glory was to be done away; then how ſhall not the miniſtration of the Spiriit, *i. e.* of the Goſpel which is to continue, be much more glorious?

For as Kings and Princes, and great Lords, if they have no means, nor ſervants, to uphold their eſtate, and to maintain their greatneſs, with great power, when there is need, they ſhall not be reſpected nor ſecured againſt rebellious ſpirits; ſo if the Miniſters of Chriſt be poor, *Pauper ubique jacet*, and no great regard will be had of their words; for all the brethren of the poor do hate him, how much more do his friends go far from him? And though *Solomon* tells you, that *the poor*

Prov. 19. 7. *wiſe man delivered the City that was beſieged* by a great King, yet he ſaith, *no man remembred this poor man*, but his *wiſdom is*

Eccleſ. 9. 15, 16. *deſpiſed, and his words are not heard.*

And therefore it is no wonder, that the poor Vicars preaching, brings ſuch poor fruits of charity, when the great men of the Countrey carry all the great Livings from them; or that

poor

poor Biſhops can do no great good, when thoſe that have been great offenders, ſhall carry away the greateſt Lordſhips from them. *Bene nota.*

2. As *Aaron* the High-Prieſt of the Jews, was a Type of our High-Prieſt, *Jeſus Chriſt*; ſo the Tabernacle that *Moſes* made in the Wilderneſs, and the Temple that *Solomon* built on mount *Moriah*, (where *Abraham* was to ſacrifice his Son *Iſaac*, and which was one of the three hills which were in the ſame tract of ground, *Sion*, *Moriah*, *Calvary*) were types and figures of the Chriſtian Churches that ſhould be erected under the Goſpel: For, 2 The Tabernacle, what it typifieth, and what the Temple typified.

As in their Temple, there were three things conſiderable: Firſt, the *Sanctum Sanctorum*: Secondly, the *Sanctum*; and thirdly, the *Atrium*, anſwerable to our Cathedral Churches, that have 1. The Quire. 2. The Body of the Church; and 3. The Church-yard: and, *Vide Goodwin.*

In the *Holy of Holies*, were the *golden cenſer*, and the *Ark* of the *Teſtament*, wherein were, 1. The pot of *Manna*. 2. *Aarons Rod*. And 3. the *Table* of the Law, ſignifying, that the Chriſtian Biſhops, that have the charge of the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, muſt always preſerve theſe three things: firſt, the *Manna*, to feed the flock of Chriſt; ſecondly, the *rod of Diſcipline* to correct them; and thirdly, the *Law*, to keep them within the bounds of their obedience. Heb. 9 4.

And there was a covering of the Ark, which was called ἱλαστήριον, the *Propitiatory*, or *mercy-ſeat*, becauſe it covered and hid the Law, that it might not appear before God to plead againſt, and accuſe ſinfull man for the tranſgreſſion of this Law; and this ſignifieth our preaching of Jeſus Chriſt to be ἱλαστήριον, our *Propitiatour*, as the Apoſtle calleth him; and ἱλασμὸς, our *Propitiation*, as S. *John* calleth him. What the Propitiatory ſignified. Rom. 3. 25. 1 John 2. 2.

2. In the Sanctuary there were two things: { 1. The *Incenſe-Altar*. 2. *Table*, whereon were { 1. The *Shew-Bread*. 2. The *Candleſtick*. 2 What the Incenſe Altar, Shew-Bread, and Candleſtick ſignified.

And

And these were Types and Figures that signified the chiefest things in our Church: as the *Incense-Altar* betokened the
Psal. 141. 2. prayers of the people, as the Prophet *David* sheweth; and whereas this Altar of *Incense* was to be sprinkled by the High-Priest, with the *blond of the Sacrifice*, once every year; it signifieth that our prayers, be they never so many, and never so fervent, yet if they be not purified and perfected by the
Exod 30. 10. bloud of Christ, they are unvaluable before God.

2. The *Shew-bread*, and the *Candlestick* signified the light that the people should receive by our explaining of the Word of God, and the feeding of their souls by the preaching of the Gospel, and blessed Sacrament of the body and bloud of Jesus Christ.

Joseph. l. 8. c. 3 3. The Court of the *Temple*, was divided by a wall of three
John 10. 23. cubits high; that the one part of it might be for the Priests,
Acts 3. 11. and the other for the people. And this Court of the people, was sometimes called the *Temple*, and sometimes *Solomons Porch*.

So you see the *Jews* had Jesus Christ and the Gospel of Jesus Christ, but veiled over; and we have them with open face.

And in this Court was their *Corban*, or Alms-box, which the *Greeks* termed γαζοφυλάκιον, and the *Latines* from the *Greeks Gazophylacium*, the treasure, and the alms that was put into this box, the *Hebrews* called *Tsedaka*, which properly signifieth justice; to teach us, that it is justice for us to relieve the Poor, and that the matter of our alms and relief should be goods justly gotten, and not, as many do, steal a Goose, and stick a feather, rob many, and relieve a few.

These were the *chiefest* parts of the Temple, and the *chiefest things* therein, and this Temple was thrice built.

1 Reg. 6. 37. 1. By *Solomon*, that finished the same in seven years.

Joseph. l. 11. c. 4. 2. By *Zorobabel*, that finished it in the ninth year of *Darius Hystasp.* and so from the second year of *Cyrus* that began it, it was fourty six years in building.

Idem l. 15. c. *ult.* 3. By *Herod*, that finished the same in eight years.

1 Chron. 29. v. 3, And what provision *David* left for the erecting of this, you may read.

Besides,

Beſides this Glorious, Great, and Magnificent Temple, that was anſwerable to our Cathedral Church, they had many Synagogues, that were as our petty Pariſh Churches: for though *συναγωγὴ*, from the Verb *συνάγω* to gather together doth properly ſignifie a Collection of any things, that may be gathered together; yet commonly, the Synagogues are taken for the Houſes dedicated to the worſhip of God, wherein it was lawful to Pray, to Preach, and to Diſpute, but not to Sacrifice.

What their Synagogues Typified.

As *συναγωγὴ γαλάκτος*, *Copia lactis.* Goodw. *l.* 2. *c.* 2.

And it is likely they began to build theſe Synagogues when the Tribes were ſettled in the promiſed Land; becauſe the Temple, being too far diſtant from thoſe that dwelt in the remote parts of the Land, they built to themſelves Synagogues to Pray to God in them, inſtead of the Temple. For ſo we read, that Moſes *of old time had in every City them that preached him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabboth day*: and *David*, in his time, findeth *great fault* with thoſe wicked and *prophane* wretches, that, like our late Rebells, deſtroyed and burnt up *all the Synagogues of God in the Land.*

When their Synagogues began to be built.

Act. 15. 21.

Pſal. 74. 8.

And of theſe Synagogues *Sigonius* writeth, there were four hundred and eighty in *Jeruſalem*: and in other Cities and Provinces, there were many other Synagogues, as in *Galilee*, in *Damaſcus*, at *Salamis*, at *Antiochia*: and they held him for a very good man and a lover of their Nation that built them a Synagogue, where they might *pray, and ſerve God.* And *Maymonides* ſaith, the tradition was, that whereſoever ten Families of *Iſrael* were, they ought to build them a Synagogue.

Sigon *l.* 2. *c.* 8. *de Repub. Heb.* Matth. 4. 23. Act. 9. 2. *c.* 13. 5. & *c.* 13. 14. Maymon. *in Tephilla c.* 11. Sect. 1.

And, were the *Jews*, that were under the Law, and burthened with ſuch *infinite taxes* and ceremonies of their Religion, as were more then they were able to bear; ſo Zealous, ſo Religious, and ſo ready to part with their Wealth, and the beſt things they had, to build ſo ſumptuous, and ſo glorious a Temple, and ſo many Synagogues, for the ſervice of God, that were but the Types and Shadows of our Cathedrals and pariſh churches, that are for the Preaching of the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*? And ſhall we that are freed from all the ordinances of their Law, be ſo cold and ſo careleſs to repair the

houſes of *Jeſus Chriſt*, that hath don ſo much for us, as I ſhall ſhew you by and by? Truly I am ſorry to ſee it, and I am aſhamed to ſpeak it, that ſuch a Cathedral Church as this, and ſo many other Churches as I have ſeen in this Dioceſe, ſhould be ſo Barbarouſly demoliſhed as they are, and ſo little regard had of their repayring. They weep for us, becauſe we weep not for their abuſe. But to go on, and

But we may remember what *Hor.* ſaith, *Delicta majorum immeritus lues, Romane, donec Templa refeceris, ædeſque labentes deorum & fœda nigro ſimulacra fumo.* l. 3. Od. 6.

3. As the *High-Prieſt* of the *Jews* was the Type of Jeſus Chriſt, and their Temple was the Type and Shadow of our Cathedral Churches; ſo all that they did and all that happened unto them, were Types and Enſamples for us that are now under the Goſpel; and, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *they are all written for our admonition*; And ſo our Saviour here tells *Nichodemus* that, *As Moſes lifted up the ſerpent in the wilderneſs, even ſo muſt the Son of man be lifted up*; wherein you may obſerve theſe two things.

3. All that happened to the *Jews* are Types and enſamples for us. 1 Cor. 10. 11.

1. The Type which is expreſſed in the *Hiſtorie*.
2. The thing Typified, which is the Myſterie ſignified by the Hiſtorie. For, Καθὼς ὑψωσε Μωσῆς τὸν ὄφιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οὕτως ὑψωθῆναι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. And,

1. For the Hiſtorie you may read it in *Numb.* 21. *v.* 4. to the tenth verſe; and which you muſt well obſerve, before you can underſtand the Myſterie. And therein you may obſerve theſe four parts.

V. 5. 1. The Sin committed by the *Iſraelites*, v. 5.
V. 6. 2. Their Puniſhment, inflicted upon them for their ſin.
V. 7. 3. Their Repentance and confeſſion of their ſins, *v.* 7.
V. 8. 9. 4. The Remedie that preſerved them, *v.* 8. and 9.

4. Parts of the Hiſtory.

1. Their ſin ſeems to be *morbus complicatus*, a twiſted and decompound wickedneſs, conſiſting of theſe four ſpecial branches, that do moſt commonly walk together.

1 Their ſin four fold.

{ 1. *Ingratitude*, 2. *Inconſtancie*, 3. *Impatience*, 4. *Injuſtice*, } For,

1. They

1. They had received from the hands of God the greateſt bleſſings that ever Nation received; from a handful of hunger-ſtarved people, no more then threeſcore and fifteen ſouls, to be multiplied and increaſed, within the ſpace of two hundred and fifty years, to the number of about ſix hundred thouſand men, beſides women and children. 1. Ingratitude. Acts 7. 14. Exod. 12. 37.

And then, being cruelly oppreſt and tyrannized over, by *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*, to be ſo wonderfully and miraculouſly delivered out of his hands, ſo fully and opulently, with ſilver, and gold, and Jewels, and abundance of all manner of wealth; and for God himſelf to guide them, and to feed them with the bread of Heaven, and the food of Angels: What a monſtrous ingratitude was it, for ſuch a people to murmur againſt God, and to complain againſt *Moſes*, as if God had purpoſely brought them, and *Moſes* malicioufly drawn them, out of *Egypt*, to be deſtroyed in the Wilderneſs of *Arabia petroſa*, the moſt uncomfortable place of all the earth? And is this the thanks that they render unto God for the wonders that he wrought for them in *Egypt*, and the fearful things that he did by the Red Sea? where they exceedingly rejoyced for their deliverance, and ſang that excellent Song of thankfulneſs unto God, ſaying, That he had *triumphed glorioufly, and thrown the horſe and his rider into the Sea*: But Exod. 15. 1.

2. They had now changed their thoughts, and their *levity* and inconſtancy is ſhewed unto the world, and ſo they continued alwayes a fickle and giddy headed people, never conſtant in any thing but in inconſtancy; for though *Moſes* brought them out of bondage, and *eaſed their ſhoulders from their burdens, and their hands from making the pots*; yet when he had been but forty dayes abſent from them, they will needs make golden Calves, and cry out, *Theſe be thy gods, O Iſrael, that brought thee out of the land of Egypt*: And though King *David* ſubdued all their enemies, the *Philiſtines*, and the *Moabites*, and *Hadarezer* King of *Zobah*, and the *Syrians*, and the *Edomites*, and the *Ammonites*, and had given them reſt on every ſide: and *Solomon* his Son had brought them peace all his dayes, and made ſilver and gold at *Hieruſalem* as plenteous as 2. Their inconſtancy. 1 Chron. 18. 2 Chron. 1. 15

stones, and built them such a glorious Temple, for the service of their God, as had not the like in all the world; yet when his son *Rehoboam* did but a little discontent them, they presently cry out, *What portion have we in David?* And *w have no inheritance in the son of Jesse:* And so, though *Jesus Christ* healed their sick, raised their dead, cast out their devils, and by their own confession did all things well; and therefore, as it were to day, spread their garments under his feet, and cried, *Hosanna*; yet, as it were to morrow, they had no other note then, *Crucifie him, crucifie him.*

2 Chron. 10. 16.

And such was the inconstancy of this people, that though at first they joyfully received, admired and loved the *celestial Manna*, yet now they say in plain terms, *Our souls loatheth this light bread*

Numb. 21. 6.

3. Their impatiencie.

3. Though the Heathen man, *Menander*, could say, φρονοῦντος ἐστι ζημίαν ῥᾷον φέρειν, It is the part of a wise man, to bear all calamities and misfortunes patiently; because, as *Horatius* saith, *Levius fit patientia, Quicquid corrigere est nefas*: When as another saith,

Dat spatium quo se crimine purget homo:

Patience yields a man a time and space to purge himself from that sin, which hath brought his calamities upon him: Yet this people, for this their travel, which they thought too tedious, betwixt *Egypt* and *Canaan*, grew weary of it, and fell into such impatiency, that they could not contain themselves, but they must secretly murmur, and then publiquely with open mouths complain against God himself, and against his Servant *Moses*, as if they had dealt too cruelly, and too maliciously with them. But

4. Their Injustice.

Amos 3. 2.

4. How unjustly they do this, it is apparent to all the world; for God professeth, *You only have I chosen*, that is, for his own inheritance and his own people, *of all the nations of the earth*: And *Moses* continually ventured his life, spent himself wholly to do them good, to provide them food, to procure them flesh, to draw water for them out of the Rock, and

Numb. 11. 12.

and to carry them in his boſome, *as a nurſing father beareth his ſucking child*; yet ſo palpable was their injuſtice, thus falſly to accuſe both God and man.

And this was the ſin of *Iſrael*, and this was the ſin of *England*, in a far greater meaſure and a much higher ſtrain then they did. For, The ſin of *England* juſt like the ſin of the *Iſraelites*.

When God, much more merciful to us then he was to them, had more abundantly ſhewed his wonders and his favours to us, then he did to any other Nation under Heaven, as in our deliverance by *Jeſus Chriſt* from ſin and Satan, whereof their deliverance from *Egypt* and *Pharaoh* was but the ſhadow, and ſending to us ſuch pious Princes, ſo ſtout a Proteſtant as Queen *Elizabeth*, ſo wiſe, ſo learned, and ſo peaceable a King as King *James*, and ſo milde a man, ſo religious, and every way ſo excellent, and ſurmounting all other men in all piety and goodneſs, as King *Charles* the firſt, to bring us out of the *Egyptian* darkneſs of errors and ſuperſtition, and to preſerve the pure light of the Goſpel amongſt us, which no Nation under Heaven had the like: yet we did not only murmur and complain againſt God, and againſt his Annointed; but we raged and railed, we rebelled and murdered the beſt of Kings, and our own moſt gracious Governour, that like an Angel Pellican, gave his own bloud to give life unto his children; ſo far did we exceed theſe ſinful *Jews* in all wickedneſs. But,

2. Having ſeen their ſin, what followeth but their puniſhment, which is alwayes at hand, even at the heels of ſin; for God having heard their murmuring, the Lord ſent fiery Serpents among the people, and they bit the people, ſo that many of them died; where you may obſerve, how juſt and how proportionable their puniſhment is unto their ſin: for as the people, like unto Serpents, ſpitted out their poyſon againſt God, and his Servants; ſo God ſent theſe fiery ſerpents to diſgorge their venom againſt this people. 2. Their puniſhment. Numb. 21. 5.

And you may obſerve further, that if God did thus ſeverely puniſh the murmuring and the words of this people, for the Text ſaith no more, But that they were diſcouraged becauſe of

the way, and therefore *ſpake againſt God and againſt Moſes*, ſaying, *Wherefore have you brought us out of Egypt to die in the wilderneſs, where there is no bread, neither is there any water?* Which a man might think was but very reaſonable, for men over-wearied with long travel, and moſt tedious journeys, and deſtitute of their neceſſary food, to demand ſuch a queſtion, without any great offence; yet you ſee how highly God is diſpleaſed with them, and how ſeverely he doth puniſh them for their murmuring, and the demanding of this queſtion of him, that was their Governour.

And if murmuring againſt *Moſes* be thus puniſhed, what puniſhment deſerves the murdering of our King.

And if this, I ſay, that ſeems to be ſo light an offence, be ſo ſeverely puniſhed, with no leſs then death, what puniſhment, think you, do they deſerve, that not only ſpeak words, even bitter words, and demand queſtions beyond loyalty, and without reaſon, without honeſty, but alſo rebel, take armes, and fight, and moſt barbarouſly murder their own lawful, juſt, and moſt excellent Prince?

Shall this people be thus puniſhed for words, and ſhall theſe men eſcape for their horrible deeds? or ſhall we pardon them, whom God ſaith, *He will not pardon*? For when King *Manaſſeh* ſhed the innocent bloud but of his Subjects, the Lord ſaith (which I do not remember he ſaith of any other ſin in any place) that *He would not pardon it.*

2 Reg. 24.4.

Truly, if we do ſuffer theſe that rebelled againſt their King, and murdered the Lords Anointed, to live and to flouriſh, as men guiltleſs of all fault, and not do our beſt to bring them legally to their juſt deſerved puniſhment, then certainly we are as culpable, as if we ſhed innocent bloud; for he that juſtifieth the wicked, or pardoneth a Rebel and a Murderer, and he that condemneth the juſt, or killeth an innocent man, even they both are equally abomination to the Lord, becauſe the Lord profeſſeth, that *He will not juſtifie the wicked*, or ſpare him that ſheds innocent bloud.

Prov. 17.15.

Exod. 23.7. Gen. 9.5,6.

And therefore, of all other men, I do profeſs, that I cannot endure that any one, that hath born Armes to fight againſt his King, ſhould be rewarded with any part or parcel of

of the Revenues of the Church of Chriſt, and the inheritance of God, for their great wickedneſs againſt God; and if they muſt needs be rewarded for any good ſervice that they have done ſince, let them be rewarded otherwiſe; and as the *Jews* would not put the price of bloud into their Treaſury, ſo let not the Treaſury of Gods Church be given for the reward of any man that had his hand in ſhedding bloud. So I have done with the puniſhment of this people, but not with the fruits of their puniſhment: For,

3. Their puniſhment puts them in mind of their ſins, and brings them to repentance for their ſins, and to ſay unto *Moſes*, *We have ſinned, becauſe we have ſpoken againſt the Lord, and againſt thee.* And ſo the Brethren of *Joſeph*, when they were afflicted, ſaid one to another, *We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we ſaw the anguiſh of his ſoul, when he beſought us and we would not hear, therefore is this diſtreſs come upon us.* Gen. 42. 21.

3. Their Repentance and confeſſion.

And this is the reaſon, why God doth puniſh us, not becauſe he delighteth in the afflictions of his Creatures, but that his puniſhments might bring us to repentance; *Quia plagæ dant animum*; and, as Saint *Gregory* ſaith, *Oculos quos culpa claudit, pœna aperit*, The eyes which ſin hath ſhut, ſtripes will open, as here it hath opened the eyes of theſe murmurers.

The reaſon why God puniſheth his children.

And I would they would do ſo to the Rebels, and the Murderers of our King: But Saint *Auguſtine* hath obſerved, that the more you ſtir filthy puddles, the more they will ſtink; ſo the more God puniſheth the wicked, the more they will blaſpheme God, and, like unto *Pharaoh* and *Saul*, grow worſe and worſe: And therefore the Prophet *Jeremy* complaineth, *Thou haſt ſtricken them but they have not grieved, thou haſt conſumed them, but they have refuſed to receive correction*: And God himſelf demandeth, *Why ſhould you be ſtricken any more, ſeeing my correction doth not amend you, but that you revolt more and more?* So the Rebels and the Murderers of our King were ſo far from repentance, that they proceeded to rob

Jer. 5. 11

Eſay 1. 5.

rob God himſelf, to throw down his Churches, and to commit moſt horrible Sacriledge.

But, as the ſame Father, Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, If you ſtir a precious oyntment, the more you ſtir it, the more fragrantly it ſmelleth; ſo the more God afflicteth his children, the more humble, and the more penitent they will be, and they willl ſay with *David*, Pſalm 119. *It is good for me that I have been in trouble, that I may learn thy ſtatutes*; and it is good indeed for them to be puniſhed for their ſins, becauſe their puniſhment worketh repentance, and their repentance gaineth pardon and mercy at the hands of God: for ſo,

Pſal. 119.

4. The great mercy of God to the penitent.

4. When God heard the peoples confeſsion, and ſaw their repentance, the Lord ſaid unto *Moſes*, *Make thee a fiery Serpent, and ſet it on a pole for a ſign*, that as many as are bitten and ſtung may look on it and live; ſo *Moſes* made a Serpent of Braſs, and ſet it upon a pole, and as many as looked up to the ſame recovered, but they that refuſed to look up to it, died; where

1. You may obſerve, how mercifull the Lord is to the penitent ſinner, and how ready he is to provide a ſalve for the ſorrowfull ſoul; for, though *he that hideth his ſins ſhall not proſper*, yet *he that confeſſeth and forſaketh the ſame, ſhall find mercy*; as here this people findeth the ſame, by looking up unto the brazen Serpent; but

Sap. 16. 7.

2. You muſt underſtand, that, as the *Wiſe man* truly ſaith, *He that turned towards it, was not healed by the thing he ſaw, but by thee, O God, that art the Saviour of all*; for the Braſs had not the virtue or power actually to cure, and to convey health to the ſtinged people; but it was the ordinance of God obeyed and believed, that reſtored them to their health; and ſo it is in many other things. As,

Numb. 5. 27, 28.

1. The curſed water drunk by the ſuſpected wife, ſhall cauſe the thigh of the guilty woman to rot, and her belly to ſwell; and ſhould free the guiltleſs woman, and cauſe her to bear children: the which power, to diſtinguiſh the chaſte wife from the unchaſte, could not be in the Water, but in the

Ordinance

Ordinance of God, that appointed the water, ſo uſed, as it is there expreſſed, to produce thoſe effects.

2. The Water in Baptiſm, and the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, have not of themſelves the power to waſh us from our ſins, and to feed our ſouls to eternal life, they are but poor things, and feeble means, too weak to convey Chriſt and all his graces unto us; but it is the Ordinance of Chriſt that appointed them for this end, and hath promiſed, that how weak ſoever they ſeem to be, yet, if we believe his words, and prepare our ſelves to receive them, as we ought to do, we ſhall find them to be ſufficient inſtruments to convey Chriſt and all his benefits unto us; even as here, the looking on a Serpent of braſs was ſufficient to preſerve this people from the poyſon of the fiery Serpents, onely becauſe God had appointed it, and promiſed it ſhould be ſo.

And therefore, we muſt not prize things by the outward ſhew, as *Naaman* did the waters of Jordan, but we ought to conſider the will and commandment of God, that appointed and decreed ſuch and ſuch things to be done, and hath promiſed that we ſhall receive ſuch and ſuch graces by them; as the poor blind man to receive his ſight by waſhing his eyes in the pool of *Siloah*, and we to receive the body and bloud of Chriſt under the conſecrated Elements of bread and wine. John 9. 7.

And ſo much for the καθὼς, *Sicut*, the lifting up of the Serpent in the Wilderneſs.

Now followeth the οὕτως, *Sic*, the lifting up of the Son of man, which was typified and figured by the lifting up of that Serpent. For,

2. It is apparent, that when God, which could by a thouſand other means have cured this Serpent-bitten people, commanded the ſame to be done by having a brazen Serpent upon a pole to be looked on, had a ſingular conſideration of ſome deep myſtery that ſhould be underſtood, and was ſhadowed out hereby: and now our Saviour taketh

2 The myſtery which was the lifting up, or crucifying, of Jeſus Chriſt.

away the veil, and explaineth the ſame to *Nicodemus*, and ſheweth unto him, that this Serpent, whoſe erection he, being a great Doctor of the Law, could not be ignorant of, was a Type and a Figure of himſelf, and did moſt excellently repreſent all the parts of the myſterie of his Incarnation; As,

The reſemblances betwixt the making of this Serpent, and the manhood of Chriſt.

1. Reſemblance. Iſai. 53. 12. 1 Pet. 2. 22.

1. The purity and ſanctity of his aſſumption of our fleſh: For as the Serpent of braſs was no Serpent indeed, and therefore had no poyſon in it: ſo our Saviour Chriſt, though he appeared like a ſinfull man, and was numbred among the wicked, yet in very deed, he did no ſin, neither was there *any guile found in his mouth*; for though he aſſumed the true fleſh, and the whole nature of man, yet he aſſumed not the ſin of man, and the vitioſity of his nature; but, as Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, *In veritate quidem corporis, ſed ſine veritate peccati ſuſcepit Dominus ſpeciem peccatoris*, in the verity of a body, but without the verity of ſin, the Lord took upon him the ſhape of a ſinner; and therefore S. *Paul* ſaith, that *God ſent his Son*, not in ſinfull fleſh, but *in the ſimilitude of ſinfull fleſh*: Where you muſt obſerve, ſaith *Caſsianus*, that *Similitudo non ad carnis veritatem, ſed ad peccati imaginem referenda eſt*, the word *Similitude* is to be referred, not to the fleſh, which was true, but to the word *Sinfull*, which the fleſh ſeemed to be, but was not

Ambroſ de Spiritu ſanct. l. 3 c. 9.

Rom. 8. 3.

Caſsian. Collat. 22. c. 2.

2. Reſemblance.

2. This Serpent is a true Type of the manner of his Incarnation and Conception in the womb of his mother; for this Serpent was not made of Iron, or Wood, or Stone, which may be wrought into a form with a Hammer or Chezil, and is made ſucceſsively by parts, one after another, as any Image made in Wood or Stone muſt be done; but this Image was made of Braſs, which, before it can be caſt into any form, muſt be molten in the fire, that purgeth it from all droſs; and the mould of any ſhape or figure being fitly prepared, you need no more, but pour the melted Braſs into the mould, and in a moment you have a perfect Image with all parts.

So the body of our bleſſed Saviour was begotten, as the *Greek* Father ſaith, ὐ σπερματικῶς, ἀλλὰ δημιυργικῶς, not by the ordinary way of procreation (as the carnal effuſion of the ſeminal

ſeminal humour) but by the power and operation of the Holy Ghoſt, who framed this bleſſed Body, *Non de ſubſtantia ſua*, not of his own ſubſtance, for ſo he ſhould have begotten it a Spirit, and a God; *Quia omne genitum genitat ſibi ſimile*, but, as S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Per potentiam, juſſionem, & benedictionem Spiritus ſancti:* by the power, command, and bleſſing of the Holy Ghoſt; who, What the Holy Ghoſt did in framing the manhood of Chriſt.

1. As the fire purgeth all droſs from the Braſs, ſo did he prepare and ſanctifie the blood and ſeed of the bleſſed Virgin, whereof the body of Chriſt was to be compoſed, that it might be made a fit ſubject for the eternal Word to be united to it: And, 1. Purifie it as the fire doth the braſs.

2. As the *Braſs, melted* in the fire, is no ſooner poured into the Mould, but preſently the perfect ſhape and figure, of Man, Beaſt, Serpent, or any thing that the Mould is made for, is produced; ſo though in *ordinary* generation, firſt the *Liver*, then the *Heart*, and then the *Brain*, are faſhioned, and ſo the other parts, one after another, and all not fully compleated till at leaſt the fourtieth day; yet the Holy-Ghoſt compleated the Body of Chriſt at the very inſtant of his conception perfectly, *quoad perfectionem partium, non graduum*, in reſpect of all parts, and indued the ſame with a reaſonable Soul at the *ſame inſtant* of his conception: which is not in other generations until the fourtieth day. 2. Perfect it in an inſtant, as the molton braſs did the Serpent.

And ſo Chriſt from his firſt Conception was *perfect God, and perfect Man*, of a reaſonable ſoul and humane fleſh ſubſiſting, which is the *true Catholick Faith*, and the Orthodoxal Doctrine of the antient Fathers, and of the Primitive Church, as it appeareth out of Saint *Hierom in cap.* 2. *Jer. & Athanaſ. in lib. de Incarnat. verb. &* St. *Aug. in cap.* 18. *de fide. ad Petr. & Damaſc. lib.* 3. *cap.* 2. *de Orthod. fide. &* St. *Bern. in Hom.* 2. *ſup. Miſſus eſt*, and many more.

3. The lifting up of the Serpent and faſtening it to a long pole on high, that the whole hoſt of *Iſrael* might look up to it, and looking on it might be healed from the poyſon of the fiery Serpents; was a Type, that foreſhewed the faſtening of Chriſt upon the Croſs to ſuffer death for our redemption, that 3. Reſemblance.

all men, whoſoever would, might look on him with the eys of Faith, and ſo be cured from the ſting of the old Serpent the Devil; and as none was healed from the ſtinging of the fiery Serpents, but they only that looked up on the Braſen Serpent; ſo it is impoſſible for any man, to be healed from the poyſon of ſin, but by a lively quick-ſighted *Faith* in Jeſus Chriſt and him crucified, becauſe Chriſt tells us plainly, that *none cometh to the father but by him.*

Joh. 14. 6.

4 Reſemblance.

4. As all that were bitten by the fiery Serpents were cured by looking upon the Braſen Serpent; whether they were *before* it, or *behind* it, on the *right* hand or the *left*, if they turned their eys to the Braſen Serpent they were healed; ſo all that went before Chriſt, as *Adam*, *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moſes*, *David*, and the reſt of the *holy men* of the Old Teſtament; and all that lived from the beginning of the world, before he was lifted up; and all we that now live, long after his lifting up; and all the men that were ſince, or that now are, in the *Eaſt*, or in the *Weſt*, in the *North*, or in the *South*, if with the eys of *Faith* they look to Chriſt, and *believe* in this lifted up Son of Man, that is their *Crucified* Saviour, they ſhall be ſaved from all their ſins; for ſo Chriſt himſelf here teſtifieth to *Nicodemus* that he was to be lifted up, that is, to be Crucified, and like this Serpent faſtened to his Croſs, *that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould not periſh but have eternal life.*

Joh. 3. 15.

And therefore away with them, that do *abridg* and abbreviate the great mercie and favour of God towards his people, as if he were a *reſpecter* of perſons, and ſent his Son to die for *ſome choſen men*, that he pleaſeth to *elect* out of all the reſt of the relapſed poſterity of *Adam*; No, no, beloved, God is no ſuch *niggard* of his Graces: but, as he openeth his hands, and *filleth all things living with plenteouſneſs*, and here cauſed the Braſen Serpent to be *lifted up on high*, in the open Wilderneſs and not in a ſecret corner, where all, and not a few, might look up unto it; ſo he gave his Son, to be born in the *Stable* of a publick Inne, where *all travellers* may boldly and juſtly challenge a room to lodg in, and he was *lifted up* and Crucified not in the *walled City*, where the enemies, (as we were all

Pſ. 145. 16.

enemies

enemies unto God) may not enter; but *without the gates*, as the Apoſtle noteth it, and upon Mount *Calvarie*, where every man might come and ſee him; and ſo he calleth all men to come unto him and never *denied* or refuſed any man, that came as he ought, to come unto him.

And therefore if any man receives not the grace of Chriſt, *culpa non eſt vocantis ſed renuentis*, the fault is in our ſelves, and not in God, that deſires not *the death of a ſinner*, nor taketh any pleaſure in the *miſeries* of his creatures, but tells us plainly *Perditio tua ex te*, becauſe we will not look up to him.

5. As this Braſen Serpent was firſt *moulded* and *made*, and then *hung* up and faſtened on a pole, and expoſed to *all winds* and weathers, not for its *own good*, nor any *evil* that it had don, but for the good and benefit that redounded to others, and for the *evil* that others had committed, and could no other way be helped, but by looking up to this *harmleſs* and *innocent* Serpent; ſo the Son of man was contented to be made Man, and then to be *lifted up* and Crucified, or faſtened to his Croſs, not for any benefit unto himſelf, who was in the form of God, equal to his Father from all eternity, nor for any *evil* that he had done, who by the confeſſion of his enemies, was a *juſt* man and did *all things well*; but *exinanivit ſe ipſum*, he emptied himſelf of all his Glory, and was made Man for us, and for our benefit, as the Prophet *Eſay* ſheweth. *Unto us a Son is born and unto us a Son is given*; and he underwent that *ſhameful death* and ſuffered thoſe bitter paines, not *for himſelf*, ſaith *Daniel*, but for *our ſins*, ſaith S. *Peter*. that we *by his ſtripes might be healed*; and our ſinful ſouls cleanſed by his blood, which could not otherwiſe be redeemed, with *a thouſand Rams and ten thouſand rivers of Oyl*. 5. Reſemblance. Eſai. 9 5. Dan. 9 26. 1 Pet. 2. 24.

And yet I muſt tell you, how unlikely in the judgment of the world, both the *one* and the *other* was this way to be effected. For,

It is affirmed by ſome *Naturaliſts*, that if one be poyſoned with the Sting and Venom of a Serpent, the very looking upon *ſhining Braſs* is preſent death unto him that is ſtinged; and

and how then ſhould it be likely to be believed, that the looking upon the brazen Serpent ſhould or could be the only means to ſave theſe peoples lives, from the venom of the fiery Serpents? Even ſo, when Chriſt told the *Jews*, that, *If he were lifted up from the earth, he would draw all men unto him*, that is, if he were put to death, his death ſhould give life, or at leaſt be ſufficient to give life, to all men: the people anſwered, *We have heard out of the Law, that Chriſt abideth for ever*; and how ſayeſt thou, That *the Son of man muſt be lifted up*, and ſo by his death reſtore life unto the world? This is a riddle to us, not poſſible to be believed, that thy death ſhould preſerve our life.

John 12. 32.

Eſay 55. 8.

But you muſt know, That *Gods wayes are not as our wayes*, nor his thoughts as our thoughts; for we ſay with the Philoſopher, that, *Ex nihilo nihil fit*: but God made heaven and earth, and all the things that are therein, *out of nothing*, and he drew the light out of darkneſs, and the beauty and well-compoſed frame of this univerſal World, out of a rude unſhapen Chaos.

And therefore, when God hath appointed and commanded any thing to be done, and promiſed it ſhould produce ſuch and ſuch effect, it is not for us to doubt or to examine, whether ſuch a cauſe can bring forth ſuch effect, or to conſider whether it be likely or unlikely to do the ſame; but we ought to do what God commandeth us, whatſoever it be, and to believe whatſoever he ſaith, and be ſure of whatſoever he promiſeth, how unlikely ſoever it be to be effected: for ſo, when God ſaid unto *Abraham*, that *Sarah ſhould have a Son*, that is, *Iſaac*, and that ſhe ſhould be the *mother of nations*, and Kings of people ſhould be of her, which ſhould ſpring from *Iſaac*; and afterward bad *Abraham* to ſacrifice his Son *Iſaac*, which made the former promiſe very unlikely, and in mans judgment altogether impoſſible, that he ſhould be ſacrificed and killed, and yet be the father of ſo many Nations: yet ſeeing God commanded him to do it, *Abraham* neither doubted of Gods promiſe, nor diſobeyed his command, but preſently carried him to Mount *Moriah* to be ſacrificed: So when God com-

commanded *Moſes* to lift up his Rod over the Sea, and promiſed the Sea ſhould be divided, ſo that the children of *Iſrael* might go on dry ground through the midſt of the Sea; and ſo likewiſe, when he commanded him *to ſmite the Rock of ſtone*, and promiſed that the waters ſhould flow thereout, which had no poſſibility with all the power of nature to be done; yet *Moſes* never doubted of Gods Promiſe, but preſently did what God commanded both in the one and the other. Exod. 14. 16.

Even ſo when God commands us to do any thing, and promiſeth we ſhall have ſuch and ſuch bleſſings by doing it; as to have our ſins remitted, by being baptized in a little water, and by the worthy receiving of a little Sacramental Bread and Wine, to injoy all the benefits of the body and bloud of Chriſt, and by a ſtedfaſt faith in the death of Chriſt, to be aſſured of eternal life; how unlikely ſoever they may ſeem to be, we ought, with *Abraham*, and *Moſes*, and the reſt of Gods faithful Servants, moſt readily do what God biddeth us, and undoubtedly believe what he promiſeth.

And though it may ſeem a ſtrange wonder that cannot ſink into worldly mens heads, that Chriſt his death ſhould procure to us eternal life, and therefore the preaching of this doctrine is to the *Jews*, that looked for ſuch a Chriſt that ſhould abide alive for ever, *a ſtumbling-block*, and *to the Grecians*, that gloried only in their *eloquence*, and aſcribed all things with *Ariſtotle*, to their natural cauſes, *meer fooliſhneſs*, as the Apoſtle teſtifieth. 1 Cor. 1. 23.

Yet if you truly weigh this doctrine of our deliverance from eternal death, and obtaining of everlaſting life by the death of Chriſt, we ſhall find it very conſonant to juſt reaſon, and no wayes to be doubted of; and that in a twofold reſpect. How juſt it is, that the death of Chriſt ſhould free all men that believe in him, from eternal death.

1. Becauſe that although we for our ſins deſerved moſt juſtly to die the death, that is, to ſuffer the eternal wrath of God, whom we have and do ſo highly offend; yet ſeeing it pleaſed Chriſt, out of his great pity to our miſerable condition, and his infinite love to mankind, to become our Surety, and to die, and ſo ſatisfie the wrath of God for us; Is it not *Reaſon* 1.

agreeable

agreeable to reaſon, that, Chriſt paying our debt, and ſuffering for our ſins, as the Prophet teſtifieth he hath done, we ſhould be diſcharged and have our lives ſpared? For ſo, when the Officers came to apprehend Chriſt, and to arreſt him, and he asked them, *Whom ſeek ye?* And they anſwered, *Jeſus of Nazareth*: And he ſaid, *I am he*; and if you ſeek me, then let theſe that are my Diſciples, and do believe in me, go their way: It is apparent by theſe words, that Chriſt held it agreeable to all reaſon, that if he paid the debt, the debtor ſhould be free; and if he ſuffered death for us, we ſhould be delivered from that death which we deſerved.

Reaſon 2. 2. Becauſe that although the death of Chriſt was but the death of one man and we that ſinned and deſerved death are many thouſand millions of men, even all the poſterity of *Adam*, yet the death of this one man, *Propter unionem hypoſtaticam*, by reaſon of the hypoſtatical union of the Godhead with the manhood in the perſon of that one man, whereby he is not only man, but alſo God himſelf, his death being the death of God, muſt needs be of ſufficient worth and value to ſatisfie God, and be more ſatisfactory to his juſtice, then the death of all Men on Earth, and all the Angels in Heaven; in as much as the death of the Creator is of more infinite value then the death of all creatures.

And therefore well might Chriſt ſay, and happy are we that he ſaid it, That *the Son of man muſt be lifted up, that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life*: And I, if I be lifted up, or being lifted up, will draw all men unto me, that is, all which will believe in me.

And ſo you have ſeen, what was typified in the Wilderneſs unto the *Jews* by the brazen Serpent, was preſented and performed to us by *Jeſus Chriſt*: to whom, for his infinite love and favour towards us, and his bitter Paſſion and death, when he was lifted up and crucified for us, to deliver us from eternal death, be all honour, and glory, and thanks, and praiſe for ever and ever, *Amen.*

THE

A

SERMON

PREACHED AT THE

PUBLICK FAST

The eighth of *March*, in St MARIES

OXFORD,

Before

The Great Assembly of the Members

Of the

HONOURABLE HOUSE OF

COMMONS

There Assembled.

By GRYFFITH WILLIAMS *L. Bishop of* OSSORY:

And Published by their Special Command.

JOHN 14.6.

I am the way, the truth, and the life.

London, Printed by *J. Hayes*, 1664.

Die Sabbati nono Martii, 1643.

ORdered *that* Mr. Bodvell *and* Mr. Watkins *give the* Biſhop *of* Oſſory *thanks, and deſire him to Print his Sermon.*

Noah Bridges.

THE ONLY VVAY TO PRESERVE LIFE.

Amos 5. 6.

Seeke the Lord, and you ſhall live.

Light is the firſt born of all the *diſtinguiſhed* Creatures; the *firſt* word, that the *Eternal* Word, after ſo *many* ages of ſilence uttered forth, was, *Let there be light*; light that giveth *life* to all Colours, that is the *mother* of all beauties, which hath no *poſitive* contrary in nature, which maketh all things *manifeſt*, to the deteſtation of all *evil*, and the crowning of every *good*, and which is a creature ſo *beloved* of the Creator, that he calleth himſelf by this name, ſaying, Θεὸς φῶς ἐστί; and he makes it the moſt worthy *aſſociate* of Truth, when he ſaith, *Send forth thy light and thy truth*: therefore *Light* is a Jewel, not to be *valued* by the judgment of man. The excellency of the light. Gen. 1. 3. 1 John 1. 5. Pſal. 43. 3.

And yet the *ſight*, by which we partake of all the benefits of the *light*, and without which the light will avail us *nothing*, nor yield us any *comfort*, as good old *Toby* ſheweth, ſaying, *Quale gaudium eſt mihi qui in tenebris ſedeo?* is but *one* ſenſe, and but

ſcarce the *fifth* part of the *happineſs* of the *ſenſitive* Creature; a *ſmall* thing, in reſpect of that moſt *invaluable* good, which is termed *Life*, and which is of more worth to every *living* creature, then is *all* the world; for the Father of *Lies* ſpake *Truth* herein, though to a lying *end*, *That Skin for Skin, and all that ever a man hath, he will give for his life.*

Life, how precious.

Job 2. 4.

Therefore, as the greateſt *threatning* that God laid upon *Adam*, to deter him from *Rebellion*, and to detain him within the Compaſs of his *Obedience*, was, *In the day that thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt die the death*; ſo the greateſt *Bleſſing* that he promiſeth to any man for *all* his Service, is *Life*, or to live, as *The juſt ſhall live by faith.* Which ſheweth how *deteſtable*, beyond my ability of *expreſſion*, are thoſe *bloud-thirſty* men, that ſo *malicioufly* and wickedly do hunt after the *life* of man, and do ſhed the *bloud* of ſo many Innocents; no waies like that *good* God, which made not *Death*, nor deſireth the *Death* of any *ſinner*, much leſſe the *deſtruction* of the *Righteous*; nor yet like *Alexander*, that knew not *God*, yet knew *this*, that when his Mother *Olympias*, that was a *bloudy* woman, lay hard upon him, to kill a certain *innocent* perſon, and to that end ſaid *often* to him, that *ſhe carried him Nine Moneths in her Womb*, therefore he had no *reaſon* to deny her; anſwered her moſt wiſely, *Good Mother, ask for that, ſome other reward and recompence*, becauſe the *life* of man is ſo *dear*, that no *benefit* can countervail it, and the *unjuſt* taking of it away is ſo *hainous*, that it is impoſſible for any *mortal* man to make ſatisfaction for ſo great an offence.

Gen. 2. 17.

Hab. 2. 4.

The bloud-thirſty, how deteſtable.

Am. Marcellin l. 14. c. 10.

Matth. 3. 7.

What ſhall we ſay then to thoſe γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, that when their own moſt *gracious* King doth ſo *often* ſollicite for *peace*, do ſtill make them ready for *battel*, and have taken away the *lives* of ſo many thouſands of men? truly, if they are not υἱοὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, yet certainly they are the ſons of *Apollyon*, the children of the *Deſtroyer*, that without *ſpeedy* repentance can receive no better reward then *damnation.*

2 Theſ. 2. 3.

Death, how terrible.

Ariſtot. Ethic. l. 3. c. 6.

But as *life* is the *ſweeteſt* and the moſt excellent of *all* things that are in this world, ſo *death* (ſaith the Philoſopher) *eſt omnibus terribilium terribiliſſimum*; becauſe this bringeth our *years*

to

to an *end*, finiſheth our *daies*, and puts a *period* to all our *joyes*; and though there is but *one* way of *life* for all men, and that one *alike* to all, *to come naked out of their Mothers womb*; yet, as the *Poet* ſaith, Job 1. 21.

Mille modis lethi miſeros mors una fatigat. Statius Thebaid. l. 9.

There are a thouſand waies to bring *any* one of us unto his *death*.

And here the Prophet threatneth *death* unto the people of *Iſrael* many waies. The *Iſraelites*, how threatned

Quocunque aſpiciunt, nihil eſt niſi pontus & æther. Ovid de Triſt.

For, *the City that went out by a thouſand, ſhall leave a hundred, and that which went out by an hundred ſhall leave ten to the houſe of Iſrael*, that is, as *Remigius* and *Hugo* ſay, the *Iſraelites* ſhall be ſo plagued by the *Aſſyrians*, as well in the three years ſiege of *Samaria*, as alſo before and after the ſame, by the *Sword*, *Famine*, and the *Peſtilence*, which, *Sicut unda ſequitur undam*, do ever follow like *Jobs* Meſſengers, one in the heel of another, the *ſword* alwaies bringing *famine*, and the *famine* producing *peſtilence*, ſo that almoſt *all* ſhall be conſumed, and ſcarce ten of an hundred ſhall be left. And as the Spirit of God ſaith unto *Eſayas*, *Go, tell this people, hear ye indeed, but underſtand not.* Then ſaid the Prophet, *Lord, how long?* and he anſwered, *until the Cities be waſted without Inhabitant, and the houſes without man, and the Land be utterly deſolate*; So now this *diſtreſſed*, though formerly moſt *happy* Kingdom, is threatned to be *ſcourged* in like manner; with the *worſt* of wars, famines, and peſtilences. Verſ 3. 2 Reg. 18. 10. Eſay 6. 10. *England*, how threatned, and how miſerable we are.

Præſentémque viris intendunt omnia mortem.

And as the Poet ſaith, all that we do *ſee*, ſay, we are appointed to be *deſtroyed*, and deſtined unto *death*; when as S. *Bernard* ſaith, *Quos fugere ſcimus, ad quos neſcimus*; we know *whom* we would ſhun, but we ſcarce know *where* or *to whom* we may flee to be *ſafe* and ſecured of our Lives; for as *Jeremie* ſaith, *Servants have ruled over us, and there is none that doth deliver us out of their hand; We get our bread with the peril of our lives, becauſe of the Sword of the Wilderneſs:* And therefore as our Prophet ſaith, *Wailing is in all ſtreets, they ſay in all high-* Lam. 5. 8, 9.

waies

Amos 5. 16. *waies, alas, alas, and they call the husbandman to mourning, and ſuch as are skilful of lamentation to wailing.*

Eſay 34 5,6. 2 Reg. 8. 1. Amos 4. 10. Yet ſeeing the *ſword* is the ſword of the *Lord*, and it is the *Lord* that calleth for *Famine*, and the *Peſtilence* is the ſcourge of *God*, which he ſendeth amongſt us, as our Prophet ſaith; and that God never *draweth* his ſword, and *throweth* away the *Scabberd*, as if he *never* meant to put it up again; never ſends a *famine*, but in that famine he can *feed the young Ravens that call upon him, and ſatisfie the hungry with good things*: and never powreth out any *plague*, but that in the greateſt *infection* he can preſerve his ſervants, that *although a thouſand ſhould fall beſides them, and ten thouſand at their right hand, yet it ſhall not come nigh them*; and never ſendeth any *temptation*, but if the fault be not our own, *he doth with the temptation make a way to eſcape, that we may be able to bear it*; becauſe he, being ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν, *the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort*, to them that *fear* him, as well as the God of *Juſtice* to render vengeance to them that *offend* him, hath the ſuppling *Oyl* of Mercy, as well as the ſharp *Wine* of Juſtice to powre into the wounds of every *penitent* ſinner; therefore our Prophet here joyneth to the *Lamentation* for *Iſrael*, an *Exhortation* to repentance; and though he threatneth *Death* for our ſins, yet he ſetteth down an *Antidote*, whereby we might, if we would, preſerve our *life*; and though I confeſs the *Phyſitians* are very *uſeful*, and to be *honoured*, as the Scripture ſpeaketh, to be ſought after, eſpecially in the times of *ſickneſs* and Mortality; yet I am ſure that neither *Hippocrates* nor *Galen*, nor all the School of *Salerne*, the whole Colledge of *Phyſitians* ſhall ever be able to preſcribe a *Potion*, ſo precious and ſo powerful to preſerve your *Life*, as I ſhall declare unto you; for God, which is truth it ſelf, hath ſaid it; *Seek the Lord, and you ſhall live*; wherein I deſire you to obſerve,

2 Cor. 1. 3.

How God dealeth with his people.

Pſal. 91 7.

1 Cor. 10 13.

Phyſitians, how uſeful.

Two parts of the Text.

1. A *Precept*; the beſt *work* that you can do, *Seek the Lord.*
2. A *Promiſe*; the beſt *reward* that you can deſire, *And you ſhall live.*

1. The Precept, twofold.

1. In the *Precept* you may ſee there are two words, and ſo two parts.

1. *Seek*

1. *Seek*, which is the *Act*, that *all* men do.
2. The *Lord*, which is the *Object* of our seeking, wherein *most* men fail.

1. The word *seek* doth presuppose that we have *lost*, or be without the Lord; and so we have indeed, we lost *Paradise*, we lost *God*, we lost our *selves*, and our own *Souls*, and are become like *lost sheep* without a Shepherd; and therefore we have great reason to *seek*, and to seek *diligently*, till we find τὸ ἀπολωλὸς, what we lost. And 1. The Act. Luke 19. 10.

The *loss* of God is nothing else but the withdrawing of his *Love*, and the withholding of the influences of his *favour* from us, like the parting of the Sun from our *Horizon*, whereby *darkness* followeth; and so all *miseries* and mischiefs, *fire and brimstone*, *storm and tempest*, wars, famines, plagues, and all *evils*, must be the lot of them that *lost* the love of God, but then you must consider, The loss of God what it is. Two things considerable.

1. The *cause* for which the Lord departeth from us.
2. The *means* whereby we suffer him to be detained from us.

1. The cause why the Lord departeth from us, is sin.

1. The *cause* that driveth away God from us, is *sin*; for by this *Adam* lost him, and as the Prophet sheweth, this makes the *separation* betwixt God and all the children of *Adam*: for *your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you that he will not hear*, saith *Esayas*: *Cap.* 59. 2. And you may see this truth further cleared and proved in *: And it is no *marvel* that sin should make such a *separation* betwixt God and us, if we consider the nature of God, and of sin, for,

* Lam. 3. 39. Psal 5. 5. Ezek. 18. 4. Rom. 6. 23. Jam. 1. 15. Lev. 11. 44.

God testifieth of himself that he is *holy*; and there is as much difference betwixt holiness and sin, as is betwixt the *clearest* light and the *blackness* of darkness; for *holiness* is of such a resplendent *Excellency*, that the very *Enemies* of it, the prophanest Atheists, that neither *fear* God, nor *regard* men, yet will they, nill they, they cannot chuse but *approve* it in others, though they *reject* it from themselves; because as *Seneca* saith, *Virtus in omnium animos lumen suum immittit, ut qui non sequuntur eam, videant tamen*; vertue and goodness do so shine among all men, that they which *use* it not, which love it not, yet

Why sin separates us from God.

The nature of holiness how excellent.

yet cannot chuse but see it, yea and *confess* it too, to be most *admirable* and excellent in it self; for what *adulterer* is so impure, but that his *conscience* will tell him, especially at some time or other, that *chastity* is better then his *sensuality*? What *drunkard* is so besotted, but that his *heart* will tell him, especially when he is sober, that sobriety is better then *surfetting* and *drunkenness*? or what *swearer* is so far past all grace, that his own soul will not tell him, and sometimes compel his *tongue* to confess it, that to say *indeed*, is far better then by his *hideous* oaths to lose that God which made him, and heaped his *blessings* upon him?

The nature of sin, how execrable.

On the other side, *sin* and filthiness are such ugly *monsters*, that the very *followers* and practisers thereof cannot chuse but *condemn* them and hate them in others, though they do *love* and follow the same in themselves: yea as St. *Aug.* saith, they that are *filthy* themselves, will call their own lewdness *filthiness*, and though they *love* it, yet they will not dare to *profess* it. And all this St. *Chrysostom* expresseth most elegantly, saying, τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμοῦσιν αὐτὴν θαυμάζεται; τοιοῦτον κακία καὶ παρὰ τοῖς μετιοῦσιν αὐτὴν καταγινώσκεται. which in effect is, that *holiness* is such a thing, that the very *Enemies* thereof canchuse but *admire* it, and *wickedness* is such a thing, that the very *Lovers* thereof cannot chuse but *condemn* it; therefore it is no wonder that God, which is *holiness* it self *in abstracto*, should hate all those that work *wickedness*.

Aug. de Civit. l. 14. c. 18. Chrys. in Eph. c. 4.

All sins not alike.

Yet you must observe that as *every* offence divorceth not man and wife; so *all* sins do not *alike* separate the love of God from us: for there be some sins that do but *anger* him, so that he only *chides* us, or most *gently* corrects us, not in his *indignation*, *nor* as the Prophet saith, *in his heavy displeasure*, but in *love* for the *amendment* of the sinner; and there be other sins, that do so *highly* provoke him, that he doth *utterly* forsake us, to execute his *wrath* and vengeance upon the sinner, for the honour of himself, and the destruction of the other, as the Lord saith, *I will get me honour upon* Pharaoh, that is, in his *destruction*. And therefore though we ought to take heed of *all* sins, yet more *especially* of these; because they are more *odious* unto God, and more pernicious unto our selves.

And

And here I find three ſins ſet down of this kind, whereby theſe *Iſraelites* loſt the Lord; and they are

1. *Idolatry* againſt God, *v.* 5. & 26.
2. *Injuſtice* towards men. *v.* 7. & 11.
3. *Contempt* of the *Prieſt*, whereby they became hateful both to God and man, *v.* 10.

} Which were 3 *deadly* ſins; as I ſhal ſhew you in their *order.*

1. *Idolatry* is a ſin moſt *hainous* and moſt odious unto God; I know few or *none* ſo peſtiferous; for though *Atheiſm* is a fearful ſin, to be *without* a God in the World, without him, without whom *we cannot live, we cannot move, we cannot have our being*; Yet *Atheiſm* ſeemeth not ſo ugly a Monſter, and ſo *deteſtable* unto God, as *Idolatry* is; and though the *prophanation* of Gods *Holy Name* is a tranſcendent ſin; yet this ſeems but to aſcend ſo high into Gods diſpleaſure as *Idolatry* doth; For in the firſt precept which is againſt *Atheiſm*, he doth not ſay without any threatning, *thou ſhalt have none other Gods but me*; and in the third precept which forbiddeth all *vain ſwearing*, he doth but ſay, *I will not hold him guiltleſſe that taketh my name in vain*; but in the ſecond precept, where he prohibiteth *Idolatry*, he ſeems to *ſearch* for words, and to coyn phraſes to expreſs his hatred to this ſin, againſt which he expandeth his fury to a mighty reach, ſaying, *I am a jealous God, that do viſit the ſins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me*, as if *Idolaters* only were the chiefeſt *haters* and the greateſt *enemies* of Almighty God; and therefore moſt juſtly *hated* by God; and no marvel; for as *Plutarch* ſaith, he had rather men ſhould think there was never ſuch a man in the world as *Plutarch*, than to ſay he was ſo *ſavage* and ſo cruel, as to kill and eat his *deareſt* friends and children; *ita ſatius eſt nullos Deos credere, quam Deos noxios:* So it is better to think there are *no* Gods, than to believe them to be ſuch as thy ſelf art, as the Prophet ſpeaketh; or like *Jupiter, Saturn*, and the reſt of the *Gentile* Gods, that were *murderers*, adulterers, and ſuch like *wicked* Gods: *Gods* not worthy to be *men*. So it is better to do no *ſervice* unto God, than to do that which is ſo exceedingly *contumelious* unto the

Exod. 14. 17.

The three fearful ſins of the Iſraelites. 1. Their Idolatry.

Idolatry how hateful to God.

Deity; becauſe that ſervice which is ſo injurious unto God, and ſo derogatory to his honour, is moſt *acceptable* unto the Devil; as the *Iſraelites*, miſtaking the true ſervice, and thinking they ſacrificed unto *God*, did indeed *offer their ſons and daughters unto devils*, as the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaketh, ſuch is the *nature* of Idolatry; So that indeed we can never pleaſe the *devil* better, nor ſhew our ſelves *faithfuller* ſervants unto him, than when we do thus *diſpleaſe* our God, and ſhew our ſelves ſo *perfidious* unto His Majeſty.

Pſal. 106. 36.

How prone the Iſraelites were to fall into Idolatry.

And yet it is wonderful to conſider how *apt* and prone the Children of *Iſrael* were to *fall* and to *wallow* in this monſtrous ſin of *Idolatry*: for no ſooner were they come out of *Egypt*, but they muſt worſhip God in the ſhape of a *golden Calf*, to *they turned the glory of the incorruptible God, into the ſimilitude of a Calfe that eateth hay*; and no ſooner was any *good* man dead that had planted the *true* Religion amongſt them, but *preſently* they ſupplanted the ſame by their *Idolatry*; and this our Prophet ſheweth at *large* in this Chapter, as

Ver. 26. 1 In the paſſage to Canaan when they worſhipped Moloc.

1. To obſerve the order of their *committing* it, and not of the Prophets *ſetting* of it down, when he ſaith, *you have born the tabernacle of your Moloc*; that is, in the *wilderneſs*, when *Moſes* was talking with God on mount *Sinai*, as S. *Hierome* and *Rupertus* think; or rather, as *Ribera* thinketh, when they committed fornication with the daughters of *Moab*, that were the next adjoyning neighbours unto the *Ammonites*, whoſe god this *Moloc* was; and *you have born Chiun, your images, the ſtar of your god, which ye made to your ſelves*; or as St. *Stephen* reads it out of the *Septuagint*, *the ſtar of your God Remphan*, or *Rephan*, as others read it, which *Giraldus* takes to be *Hercules*; *Ribera* thinks him to be *Jupiter*; but St. *Hierom*, *Remigius* and *Beda* take it for the ſtar of *Venus*, which going before the Sun in the morning was called *Lucifer*, and following the Sun at night was called *Heſperus*, and was worſhipped by the *Syrians*, as the Queen of Heaven; and as *Servius*, upon that verſe of *Virgil*.

Remphan who he was.

Errantesque Deos agitatagne numina Troje, obſerveth how the *Gentiles* carried their *tutelary* gods with them, as *Rachel* did

Gen. 31. 34.

did her fathers Idols, *whitherſoever* they went: ſo the *Iſraelites* in imitation of them, carried theſe *Images* in the Tabernacle after a moſt *ſolemn* and a pompous manner.

2. The Prophet ſheweth their *Idolatry*, when he forbids them to ſeek *Bethel*, and to enter into *Gilgal*, or to paſs into *Beerſheba*; becauſe theſe places *Bethel* and *Gilgal* towards the North, and *Beerſheba* Southward, were the *uttermoſt* parts and borders of the Holy Land, where *Jeroboam* did ſet up his golden Calves. 2 In their ſetled Land. 2 Reg 23 8. 1 Reg 12.29.

And the Children of *Iſrael* were ſuch calves, that all the *holy* Prophets and the *godly* Kings, could never withdraw them from the *Idolatrous* ſervice of theſe calves; and the reaſons thereof you may gather out of the Text. The reaſons why the children of Iſrael were alwaies ready to worſhip their calves.

1. Becauſe they were ſuch gods as gave them *eaſe* and *liberty*.
2. Becauſe they were *calves*.
3. Becauſe they were *golden* calves.
4. Becauſe they had *wodden* Prieſts; no *better* than their *gods*: For

1. *Jeroboam* ſaid, *it is too much for you to go to Hieruſalem*; that is, too much *coſt*, and too much *pains*; for he knew the people would like very *well* of that Religion which would give them moſt *eaſe*, and prove leaſt *chargeable* unto them; as men had rather ſit to hear, than *kneel* to pray, and to *give* a ſmall ſtipend to their poor *Lecturer*, than pay the *tenth* of all their increaſe unto their learned Paſtor; but this *liberty* overthrew all their *piety*. 1 Reaſon.

2. He made two *calves*, though there can be but one God, not only to imitate their *former* practice in the *Wilderneſs*, and their uſual worſhip in *Egypt*, becauſe he knew men would be eaſily ſeduced to their *old wont*, but eſpecially to inlarge their *liberty*, to let them ſerve God as they *liſt*, which is very pleaſing to *fleſh and bloud*; becauſe the *calves* were *ſuch* gods, as did not *much* care what ſervice was done unto them; yet 2 Reaſon.

3. He ſet up *golden* calves, to make a *glorious* ſhew, becauſe the veriеſt *hypocrites* in the world would fain ſeem to do all for the *honour* of God, and the *preſervation* of the true Religion, *pul-* 3 Reaſon.

Juven. §. 16. *chra lavernâ, da mihi fallere, da justum sanctumque videri*, when as indeed it is but *like* their god, a *calfe*, though of *gold*, yet *dead* without *life*, without *sense*; and such is the Religion of all *Hypocrites*, a *liveleſs* and a *senceleſs* Religion; let them *pretend* what they pleaſe. And

4 Reaſon, 4. That they might *ſleep* in their ſins, and *never* wake, they muſt have *Prieſts of the loweſt of the people, which were not of the ſons of Levi*, that is, of the *regular* miniſters and conformable Clergy, but thoſe that were *fitteſt* for ſuch *Libertines*, as being neither *able* for their Learning to know God, to teach his *truth* and confute *Errours*, nor *daring* for their baſeneſs to contradict the *people* in any of all their *wicked* waies; for *Jeroboam* knew that *Learned* men, and men of *worth*, would never adore ſuch *Calves*, though they were made of *Gold*; nor yet humour their *people* in their *eaſe*, *idleneſs*, and *Idolatry*; therefore when men would change their *Religion*, they muſt change their *Prieſts*, even as Chriſt did when he tranſlated the *Jewiſh* ſervice into the *Chriſtian* Religion, he changed *the Order of the Prieſthood*, Heb 7.12. ſaith the Apoſtle; ſo when we would overthrow the *true Religion*, and make way for *Libertines*, we muſt caſt out the *true Prieſts*, and with *Jeroboam* take for them the *baſeſt* of the people, Cha. 30.8. *children of baſe men, viler than the earth*, as *Job* ſpeaketh, which can neither confute *hereſie*, nor hinder *Idolatry* among their flocks.

1 Reg. 12.30. But what ſaith the *Text?* this became a *ſin*, an *indeleable* ſin to all *Iſrael*, that cauſed them to be led into *perpetual* captivity, and to loſe their *everliving* God, becauſe they ſerved theſe *golden* Ver. 27. *calves*, and were led by theſe *woodden Prieſts*; for ſo the Prophet ſetteth down, *therefore will I cauſe you to go into captivity beyond Damaſcus, ſaith the Lord, whoſe name is the God of Hoſts*, and it 1 Reg. 14. 16. & c. 15.30. was ſuch an *everlaſting* ſtain to *Jeroboam*, that it is his *indeleable* Epithite, *carbone notabilis atro, Jeroboam the ſon of Nebat that made Iſrael to ſin.*

And it were well if *this* ſin reached no farther than the children of *Iſrael*; for indeed ſuch is the *nature* of all men, *apt* and prone to *deviſe* ſervices unto God as they liſt; every one will be *independent*, and ſerve God as he pleaſeth; and all ſuch *deviſed* ſervice

ervice is nothing elſe but *Idolatry*, ſaith the Apoſtle: and there- Col. 2. 23.
ore St. *John* writing unto Chriſtians, concludes his Epiſtle with 1 Joh. 5. 21.
little children, keep your ſelves from Idols, which is worth our obſervation; becauſe they might (as many do) make an *Idol* of many things; of their *Pulpit*, of their *Preachers*, of their *Altars*, and of the moſt *conſecrated* bread in the Euchariſt, when, as the Church of *Rome* doth it to this very day, they *tranſubſtantiate* the ſame to become *Corpus Domini*, and do *orally* eat that with their teeth, which the Scripture teacheth us to eat *ſacramentally* by faith; which very doctrine of *tranſubſtantiation*, and thereupon the *adoration* of their hoſt, and the *aſportation* of it, as the *Iſraelites* did their *Moloc*, I fear, if it be *rightly* diſcuſſed, will prove to be little leſs than *Idolatry*; for as I will not reject that *truth*, which the *Devil* uttered, *Thou art Jeſus the Son of the moſt high* Mat 5. 7.
God, nor refuſe the four *Goſpels*, and the three *Creeds*, of the *Apoſtles*, the *Nicen* and *Athanaſian*, becauſe the *Pope* uſeth them, but will believe all the *truth* that the Church of *Rome* believeth, and therein joyn with them the *right hand of fellowſhip*; ſo I will *hate* the *errours*, and deteſt the *Idolatry* of any Church that committeth it.

How the Primitive Chriſtians were ſlandered.

And therefore, though as the Chriſtians of the *Primitive* Church were moſt falſly *traduced*, and charged to be the cauſes of all the *calamities*, dearths, wars, ſedition, and all the other evils that happened unto the Heathens, (which indeed *themſelves* were the ſole *cauſes* of, becauſe they would not become Chriſtians) and therefore *perſecuted* the Church of Chriſt, and in all their *Counſels* had none other *Concluſions* but *Chriſtianos ad leones*, let us throw away theſe Chriſtians to the *Lyons*, to the *fires*, and to the *Waters*; ſo now the *Enemies* of the truth ſay, we are *Papiſts*, and Idolatrous, and the *cauſes* of all *theſe* calamities that are fallen upon this Land; and therefore let them be *deprived*, degraded, and deſtroyed; yet in very *deed* we are ſo far from thoſe points, which *Jewel*, *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, and the reſt of thoſe holy Martyrs, and *godly* Reformers concluded to be *Popiſh* and *Idolatrous*, that as we have hitherto moſt *learnedly* refuted them, ſo we are moſt *conſtantly* reſolved to oppugn them while we *live*, and rather to loſe

How we are now ſlandered.

our

our *lives*, than to depart from the *true* proteſtant faith, and to embrace the *Idolatry* of any Church in the World: and you muſt *know*, that as the Philoſopher ſaith, *Non quia affirmatur, aut negatur, res erit, vel non erit*, things are not ſo and ſo, becauſe they are *reported* to be ſuch; as *Gold* is not *Copper*, becauſe an ignorant *Artiſt* affirmeth it, nor Copper *Gold*, becauſe the like *Ignoramus* avoucheth it; ſo a wicked man is not *good*, nor Rebels *loyal*, becauſe *flatterers* commend them; neither is a good man *wicked*, nor faithful Subjects *malignants*, nor true Proteſtants, *Popiſh*, becauſe the ſlanderers *traduce* them; as Chriſt was neither *a drunkard*, nor *a glutton*, though the *Jews* accuſed him of both; and we are neither *Papiſts* nor *Popiſh* though as the Apoſtle ſaith in the like caſe, *we are ſlanderouſly reported to* be ſuch, but things ought to be affirmed to be as they are *indeed*, and men ought *to judge righteous judgements*; and then you might *ſee*, and ſo be *aſſured*, we are ſo far from *Popery*, that as I ſaid before, we lay on them little leſs crime, than *Idolatry*.

Mat. 11. 19.

Rom. 3. 8.

And ſeeing εἴδωλον is derived *ab eido video*, we ſee it may be derived *farther* and brought *nearer* to our *ſelves*, then the Church of *Rome*; for ſo men may, as St. *Hierom* ſaith, erect an *Idoll* in their own *brains*, as the worldling makes his *Gold* to be his *god*; the *Heretiques* and *Separatiſts* make an *Idoll* of their *falſe* Religion: the preciſe *Hypocrite* makes an *Idoll* of his diſſembled *purity*: and the very *Rebels* make an *Idol* of their *ſeducers* and *leaders*, and their own moſt *obſtinate* opinions: and all theſe, and the like, do offer up *Idolatrous* ſacrifices upon the *Altar* of their own *folly*; and therefore well might St. *John* ſay, *Keep your ſelves from Idols*; becauſe the children of the *Church*, when they leave their *true Leaders*, and take blind guides, may ſoon fall and be filled with *Idolatry*. And ſeeing we have ſo many *ſuch* rebellious Idolaters amongſt us, if there be any *Idolaters* in the world, is it any wonder that God ſhould ſo *abundantly* poure out his *indignation* upon us? or that *he ſhould not viſit for theſe things*, and be *avenged on ſuch a nation as this is*?

Hier. in Jer. c. 32. & Aug. l. de vera religione. Col. 35.

Jer. 5 9.

2. *Injuſtice* was the other ſin, whereby the *Iſraelites* loſt the Lord,

Lord, when as the Prophet ſaith, *they turned judgment into wormwood, and left off righteouſneſs in the earth*: wherein you may obſerve two things in the *iniquity* of this people. Ver. 7. The ſecond ſin of the Iſraelites, Injuſtice.

1. *Generally* among *all* the Vulgar ſort.
2. *Particularly* among the very *Judges* and *Princes* of the Land. Jer. 5. 1.

1. The *common* people left off *righteouſneſs*, and dealt moſt *unjuſtly* one with another, oppreſſing the *poor*, afflicting the *juſt*, and filling themſelves with theſts, robberies, and all other kinds of unrighteouſneſs, ſins able to overthrow the whole *earth*, and to deſtroy all the *Society* of mankind; for *juſtice eſtabliſheth the thrones of Kings, it exalteth a nation*, it is the ſiſter of *peace*, the mother of *proſperity*, the preſerver of *amity*, and as *Theognis* ſaith. 1 Generally. The praiſe of Juſtice. Pro. 25. 5. Pro. 14. 34. *Theog.* p. 431.

ἐν δ' δικαιοσύνη συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετὴ ἔνι: And on the other ſide *injury* and oppreſſion, as *Solomon* ſaith, *is able to make a wiſe man mad*, and *injuſtice* is the deſtroyer of *peace*, the producer of *War*, and the bringer of whole *Cities*, Kingdoms and Nations to confuſion; for as St. *Aug.* ſaith, *Quid ſunt regna, remota juſtitia, niſi magna latrocinia?* What are Kingdoms, if you take away *juſtice*, but as our *Cities* are now in moſt parts of our Land, *the Dens of Thieves*, that enrich themſelves with the *treaſures of wickedneſs*, and are clad with the *ſpoiles of the poor*? and how is it poſſible that men ſhould live one by another, *cum vivitur ex rapto*? when *Pillaging* and Plundering ſhall become our *common* trade, and the great mens *ſtrength* ſhall become the Law of *juſtice*? and yet this is not all, for Eccleſ. 7. 7. Mica. 6. 13.

2. As the Prophet *Eſay* ſaith, their *Princes*, that is, their chief *Lords*, were *rebellious and companions of thieves*; and their *Judges* their *Sanhedrins*, and great Council of *State* afflicted the *juſt*, as our Prophet ſaith, and *took bribes*, and *turned aſide the poor in the gate from their right*; and what a lamentable thing is this, when the *poor*, the fatherleſs, and the widows that are *oppreſſed* ſhall come unto the *gods* to ſeek relief, and they ſhall find them like *Devils*? to add *ſorrows* unto their afflictions, and to make the *remedy* far worſe than the *diſeaſe*, when a man ſhall ſpend more in *getting* his 2 Particularly. Iſa. 1. 23. Ver. 12. Jer 5 5.

right

right, then his *right* is worth, or when as the Prophet saith, *the judgement shall be turned into wormwood*; which is *now* with us, as it was with them, the very *State* of this Kingdom; for when His Majesty called a *Parliament*, the *highest* Court of Justice in our Land, I may say of it, as the Lord saith of *Israel*, when he looked for *grapes*, it brought forth *wild grapes*: when we expected *justice*, behold we found *oppression and wrong*, yea, *such* oppressions, such *injustice*, and such *cruelty* we found among *these* Judges and Princes of *Israel*, as cannot be parallel'd among the worst of *Pagans*; so that now indeed they have turned *judgement* into *wormwood*; which by reason of its exceeding *bitterness* made the *French* Proverb, *Fort comme aloyne ou absynte*, and made the *Greek* comicks to call it ἀπότον, that is, *impotable*.

Dioscorides l. 3. Apellus in Isagogico.

Judgment turned to wormwood two waies.

And *judgement* may be turned into *wormewood* two special waies.

1 Way.

1. When it is done, as it was upon *Naboth*, without any *colour* of right, without *any* cause, and in the *highest* degree of *injustice*, with the *greatest* measure of iniquity: as when *Aristides* was banished out of *Athens*, *justus, quia justus*, and the *Christians* were persecuted and murdered, only *quia Christiani*; and the *Bishops* are now hated of many men, *only* because they are *Bishops*, that is enough, though we can find *none* other cause in them *worthy of death, or of bonds*. And this is indeed *absynthio amarius*, bitterer than *Wormwood*, and is done by none but by the Sons of *Belial*; *And shall I not visit for these things?*

Jer. 5 9.

2 Way.

2. When it is done as *Sulpitius Gallus* did with his wife, because she walked *abroad* without her *vaile*, or as the Elder *Cato* did often deal with offenders, and P. *Æmilius* did with *Rutilius*, inflict a punishment for a *just* fault, but in the *highest* degree of severity; for though *sometimes* severity may and *ought* to be used, *ut multitudinis furores compescantur, & atrocia flagitia puniantur*, that the *fury* of the *wild* unruly multitude may be *refrained*, and *hainous* offences, as *Treasons* and Rebellions, and the like *intolerable* sins, may by the punishment of *some* be prevented in *others*; for so we find that *whole*

towns

Towns have been burnt to aſhes, and *famous* Cities have been *utterly* deſtroyed for the *Tumults* and rebellions of *undutiful* and diſloyal Citizens; yet in other caſes, as *M. Cicero* ſaith in *Marcellinus*, when it was in my *power* either to *condemn*, or to abſolve, *ignoſcendi non puniendi quærebam cauſas*, I did rather ſearch out the means to *ſave* them, then look after the cauſes to *puniſh* them; or as *Alphonſus*, being adviſed by ſome of his followers, *ut ne nimium lenis erga ſuos eſſet*, that he ſhould no be too *gentle* towards his people, leſt they might bring him into *contempt*, anſwered more *graciouſly*, that he was rather to take heed, *ne nimia ſeveritas conciliet invidiam*, leſt too much *ſeverity* ſhould beget him *hatred*: ſo I believe it is the nature of the *beſt* men to be *leaſt* ſevere, as holding it the *better* courſe to offend on the *ſafer* ſide, and rather *mercifully* to remit *ſomewhat* of the puniſhment that is due, than *rigorouſly* to add *any* thing more than is juſt; becauſe *mercy rejoyceth againſt judgement*, and it is *hardly* believed that the ſon of *Severity* can be a good child of the God of *Clemency*, becauſe as the Poet ſaith, —— *Sola deos æquat clementia nobis*: And the Scripture reproveth the *exceſs* of cruelty towards the *greateſt* Enemies of Gods Church; For the Lord threatneth *to break the bars of Damaſcus, and to ſend a fire into the houſe of Hazael, and to devour the pallaces of Benhadad*; and why will the Lord do all this? but becauſe they were not *ſatisfied* with the ſubjection of the *Gileadites*, but when they had *vanquiſhed* them, they ſhewed themſelves ſo *mercileſs*, that to ſatisfie their *wrath* upon them, *they thraſhed them with thraſhing inſtruments of Iron*: And ſo the Lord threatneth the *Moabites*, that he would *ſend a fire upon Moab, which ſhould devour the Pallaces of Kerioth; and Moab ſhould die with tumult, with ſhouting, and with the ſound of the Trumpet; and he would cut off the Judge from the midſt thereof and would ſlay all the Princes thereof with him*: And why would the Lord do all this unto the *Moabites*? but becauſe they were not *ſatisfied* with the ſpyls of the *Edomites*, but like *mercileſs* wretches, triumphing in the *miſeries* of miſerable men, they were ſo *inraged* againſt them, that like *brute* beaſts, which were void of

Lib. 19 *in fine.*

Good men are naturally clement.

Claud.

Exceſs of ſeverity condemned by God.

Amos 1.4,5.

Verſ. 3.

Amos 2.2,3.

2 Reg 3.27. all *humanity*, they burnt the *bones of the King of Edom into lime*; for it is not *acceptable* unto the Lord, that any man ſhould *inſult* over his enemies in the day of their *deſtruction*, nor ſpeak *proudly* in the *time* of their *diſtreſs*: and therefore we muſt examine *quo animo*, as well as *quo ſupplicio*, we do puniſh the *greateſt* tranſgreſſours; becauſe God oftentimes is offended with the *manner* of that puniſhment, whereof in reſpect of the *matter* he himſelf is the author.

And yet, as in *judgements* and puniſhments you muſt qualifie your own *Affections*, to do all without *bitterneſs*; ſo you muſt look to the quality of the *offendor*; for the *ſame* cenſure is not to be *impoſed*, nor the ſame *puniſhment* to be inflicted on *him* that ſinneth through *infirmity*, and upon *another* that oppoſeth *authority*, and ſinneth through *obſtinacy*; upon him that is *ſeduced* to rebellion, and upon the *ſeducers* and leaders of the more *ſimple* Rebels: for though *all* ſins deſerve puniſhment, yet all ſins are not *alike*, neither do all commit the *ſame* ſins alike; but ſome ſins are more *contracted* and more *private*, and others are more *publick* and more *ſpreading*; and therefore far more *dangerous* than the other, becauſe ſuch ſinners, *& peccant & docent peccare*: and therefore God ordereth his *judgements* according to the *offences*; ſins of *infirmity* he puniſheth with *pity*, and mixeth his puniſhments with *Clemency*, but upon *horrible* ſins he layeth *terrible* puniſhments, and as he ſaith in *Micah*, *He will execute vengeance in his anger*; ſo when the *Jews* were grown *incorrigible*, he ſaith, *He will deliver them into the hand of thoſe that ſeek their life, and they ſhall ſmite them with the edge of the ſword, and ſhall not ſpare them, nor have pity, nor have mercy upon them*: and ſuch a ſin is *murder*, and the ſhedding of *innocent* bloud, whereof the Lord ſaith, *Thine eye ſhall not pity him, but life ſhall go for life*. And ſuch a ſin is the ſin of *Rebellion*, which is as the ſin of *Witchcraft*, and ſpreadeth it ſelf like a *Gangrene*, and infecteth many *millions* of men; and therefore the reſiſting of *authority* deſerveth *more* ſeverity and *leſs* clemency, than *any* ſin, as you may ſee in the puniſhment of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, who in the judgement of *God* himſelf deſerved

All ſins not alike, nor the ſame ſins committed alike.

Micah.5.15.

Jer.21.7.

Deut.19.13, 21

Et vide Ezek. 8.17,18.

deſerved no leſs than to be *conſumed* with *fire from Heaven*, or to be ſent down *quick to Hell*; which in the judgment of *Op-tatus*, is ſo *fearful* and unparallel'd a vengeance, ſhewing the *tranſcendent* odiouſneſs of rebellion, that the *like* cannot be found ſince the *creation* of the world: becauſe rebelling againſt *lawful* Authority is no leſs than *fighting* againſt the divine Majeſty; and therefore the moſt *holy* Saints of the Primitive Church, that were moſt *innocent* in all their lives, would notwithſtanding ſuffer the moſt *cruel* death, rather than they would *reſiſt* this ordinance of God; or otherwiſe, if they had ſo *impudently* reviled their *Heathen* Judges, and ſo *rebelliouſly* reſiſted their *perſecuting* Kings, as you ſee *many* have done of *late* againſt the moſt *gracious* Princes, the Church had never *canonized* them for godly *Martyrs*, but had *regiſtred* them among the moſt wicked *Malefactors*.

Rebellion how horrible a ſin.

3. *Contempt of the Prieſt* was the *laſt*, but not the *leaſt* ſin whereby the *Iſraelites* loſt the Lord, when they *hated him that rebuked in the gate, and abhorred him that ſpake uprightly*, that is, the *Prophet* or Preacher, ſaith *Cornelius à Lapide*; becauſe the *Jews* had their *Tribunals* and Judgements in the *gates* of their Cities, as *Moſes* ſheweth: and therefore *Jeremy*, *Amos*, and the reſt of Gods ſervants ſate alſo in the *Gates*, as you may ſee *, to rebuke the *wrong* Judgements, as St. *Hierom* and *Lyra* note; and to ſpeak *uprightly*, that is, *Perfectum & ſanctum ſermonem*, a perfect and a juſt Judgement, as the *Septuagint* and *Symmachus* render it; and *this* the people *hated* and abhorred; which is the *height* of all iniquity, to reject the *Prophet*, and to exclude his *counſel* from our judgements: for as the *Gout* is the ſhame of the Phyſitian, becauſe he cannot *cure* it, ſo this is the *plague* of the ſoul, and a ſin that is *incurable*; for though a man commits *many* and great ſins, and leads a very *diſſolute* life; yet if he will dutifully *hearken* unto counſel, and patiently bear with his *rebukes*, there is *great* hope of his amendment; but as the *diſeaſed* that is *deadly* ſick, and yet like *Harpaſte*, that would not be perſwaded that ſhe was *blind*, though ſhe could ſee no more than a *milſtone*, will not believe that he is *ſick*, and cannot indure the *ſight* of his Phyſitian,

The third ſin of the *Iſraelites*. Ver. 10.

Deut. 21. 19.

* Jer. 17 19. Eſdras l. 2. c. 8.

Sinners that reject their Teachers and Paſtors, are incurable.

runs on a pace to *death* without any hope of life; ſo the *Judges* that hate the Prophets *company*, and abhor the aſſiſtance of the *Prieſts* in their judgements, as the *Iſraelites* now did, and that *ſinner* who doth hate his *Teacher*, and ſhuns the *ſociety* of him that ſeeks to ſave his ſoul, have little *ſign* of grace, and as little *hope* of eternal life; and therefore the Scripture deſcribing the *deadly* eſtate of the moſt deſperate ſinners, ſuch as with *Ahab* had ſold themſelves to work wickedneſs, ſaith, *they are like thoſe that contend with their Prieſts*, of whom there is *little* hope and *leſs* good to be expected any waies; for is it *poſſible* that a blind man ſhould *find* his way, when he *beats* away his Leader? Or that a *child* ſhould thrive, when he *bites* and beats away his *nurſe* that gives him ſuck? So it is *impoſſible* that they ſhould do *well* which hate the *light*, or that they ſhould ever learn any *good*, which abhor the *Teachers* of all godlineſs.

Hoſ 4.4.

Geminianus tells us, that the Miniſters of Gods word are like the *Hyades*, whereof *Job* ſpeaketh;

Gem. de cœlo. l. 1 c. 22.

Job 9 9.

The Preachers like the Hyades.

1. Becauſe the *Hyades* or *Pleiades*, as we tranſlate them, are *watry* ſtars, ſo called from their *effects*; the word *Hyades* of ὑω ſignifying nothing elſe but *rain*; So the Preachers pour out the *ſhowers* of heavenly doctrine upon the barren ground of our ſouls, to make them *fruitful*, even as *Moſes* ſaith, *My doctrine ſhall drop as the rain, and my ſpeech ſhall diſtill as the dew.*

1. Reſpect.

Deut. 32 2.

2. Becauſe that as when the *Pleiades* do ariſe, the daies *lengthen*, the Sun is *hotter*, and the Earth produceth more *plentiful* fruits; ſo by the preaching of Gods word, the *light* of truth is increaſed, the *heat* of Chriſtian love and charity is kindled, and the holy *fruit* of all good works is increaſed: Therefore if the Preachers be as the *rain* to make us *fruitful*, as the *light* to direct our *waies*, as our *Fathers* to inſtruct us, and as the *Angels* of God to bring us into heaven, as the Scripture teſtifieth that they are, then I beſeech you tell me, what *holy* fruit, what *heavenly* light, or what *Chriſtian* good can be in them, that deſpiſe their *Teachers*, and expell their *fathers* from their ſocieties?

2. Reſpect.

Yet

Yet this was the ſin of the *Iſraelites*, and I fear, we cannot *free* our ſelves from it: for how have they been uſed ſince the *beginning* of this Parliament? Was not he *moſt* cried up, that *cried* moſt againſt the Church and Church-men? And men of *no note* became *famous* in the Houſe by making invective *ſpeeches* againſt the *Biſhops*, and he was deemed moſt *eloquent* that was moſt *bitter* againſt them; and how have they been handled ever *ſince*? Voted out of all their *means*, and not *any* thing left them to buy them bread: *graviora morte*; and being thus made as *the filth of the world, and the off-ſcouring of all things unto this day*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh: they are either caſt with *Joſeph* into the *dungeon*, or driven to wander in *deſarts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth, being deſtitute, afflicted, tormented*; And I may ſay of ſome of them with *Jeremy, they that did feed delicately are deſolate in the ſtreets, they that were clad in ſcarlet embrace dunghils, they ſigh and ſeek bread, and have given their pleaſant things for meat to relieve their ſouls.* And *ſhall I not viſit for theſe things*, ſaith the Lord, and *ſhall not my ſoul be avenged on ſuch a nation as this*? Yes, ſaith our Prophet: and for theſe things the *Iſraelites* loſt the Lord: and we may *fear* he hath *left* us for the ſame faults.

ὡς περικαθάρματα τοῦ κόσμου, πάντων περίψημα ἕως ἄρτι. 1 Cor. 4. 13. Heb. 11. 38. and 37. Jer. 5. 9. Lam. 4. 5. & 1. 11.

2. The *means* or waies by which we *depart* from God and ſo loſe the Lord, are very many; I will only name unto you theſe three, whereby *Joſeph* loſt our Saviour in *Jeruſalem*;

2. The waies whereby God is loſt from us.

And they are, { 1. *Negligent ſecurity.* 2. *Ignorant blindneſs.* 3. *Obſtinate opinion.* }

1. *Joſeph* went with Chriſt into the *Temple*, but through *negligence* to look after him, he went *homewards* without him, ſo the *neglect* to ſeek God, is the only way to loſe God; becauſe as Saint *Gregory* ſaith, *Quem tentationis certamen ſuperare non valuit, ſæpe ſecuritas deterius ſtravit.* 1. Way.

2. *Joſeph* knew not that Chriſt was left *behind* him; and ſo many men *know not* that they are *without* the Lord, being like the Inhabitants of *Egypt* that reap the benefits of *Nilus*, but are ignorant of the *fountain* from whence it ſprings; becauſe they are ignorant of their *faith* and of their own moſt 2. Way.

deſperate *condition*, while they have more care of the *Evidence* of their Lands, than they have of the *aſſurance* of their Salvation.

3. Way. 3. *Joſeph* thought that Chriſt was gone before with their friends, and thereby he was *deceived*; ſo many men loſe the Lord by their *falſe perſwaſions*; for *Arius* thought he found Chriſt when he denied his *Deity*; Saint *Paul* thought he did God *good* ſervice when he perſecuted the *Saints* of God; and ſo many men, as thoſe *ſeditious* Preachers and *Brownifts* about *London*, and many other parts of this Kingdom do think, perhaps, they teach the *truth* of God, when as *God* knoweth, they teach the people *nothing* elſe but the moſt *deſperate* and damnable doctrine of devils, when they perſwade them *to reſiſt the ordinance of God*, which commandeth *every ſoul to ſubmit it ſelf unto the higher powers*, and that is the *King*, as Saint *Peter* teſtifieth; and ſo by theſe *falſe* thoughts they do *utterly* loſe the *true* God, and ſhall *finally* loſe themſelves, unleſs they do *ſpeedily* change their minds; and therefore as the Emperour *Antoninus* was wont to ſay in *another* caſe, ſo I ſay in this, *ejice opinionem, ſi vis ſalvus eſſe*, caſt away ſuch *falſe opinions* and believe the *truth*, relie not on your *ſelves*, nor on your *lying* Leaders, but as our Prophet ſaith, *Seek the Lord, and you ſhall live.* And ſo much for the *cauſes* and the *waies* by which we *loſe* the Lord.

Rom. 13.

1 Pet. 2. 13.

What we ought to do, when we have loſt God. Gen. 2.

Now when the Lord is *loſt*, the only *remedy* that we have is to *ſeek* him; but alas beloved, is it in our *power* to find him, or have we any *ability* to ſeek him? Can the loſt *ſheep* find her *ſhepherd*, or could *Adam* ever *ſeek* after God, if God had not ſought after him, and called him, Adam, *where art thou?* I muſt anſwer like *Athanæus* riddle, a *man* and no man, with a *ſtone* and no ſtone, kill'd a *bird* and no bird, that ſate upon a *tree* and no tree; that is, an *Eunuch*, with a *pummy* killed a *bat* upon a *fennel*; ſo I ſay, it is, and it is not: for if you ſpeak of a man *unregenerate*, and as yet deſtitute of Gods *grace*, he can no more *ſeek* for grace than dead *Lazarus* could raiſe himſelf out of his grave: becauſe the Apoſtle affirmeth all to be, νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι καὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτίαις, *dead in treſpaſſes and ſins*: and

Eph. 1. 2.

our

our Saviour ſaith, *Without me you can do nothing:* and *Proſper* calleth the *grace* of God, *Creatricem bonorum in nobis*, the Creator of all the good that is in us, according to that ſaying of the Apoſtle, ἀυτοῦ ἐσμὲν ποίημα, *we are his workmanſhip*, κτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, *created in Chriſt Jeſus:* and you know that a *creation* is from *nothing*. Joh. 15. 5. χωρὶς ἐμοῦ οὐ δύνασθε ποιεῖν οὐδέν. *Proſper de lib. arbit.*

But when the Lord hath *quickned* our dead ſpirits, and *mollified* our hard hearts, then he looketh that we ſhould not be, *quaſi dormientes quaſi non volentes*, as men *aſleep* and negligent of our own good, but that we ſhould *diligently* ſeek the way, and *finding* the ſame, to *walk* therein: for this *exhortation* to *ſeek* the Lord, and our Saviours *invitation*, to *come* unto him, and the like, do ſufficiently evince, that in all *Chriſtians* God worketh not *ſicut in lapidibus inſenſatis*, as in *ſenſeleſs* ſtones, or in creatures that have no *reaſon*, as Saint *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh, but in men that have a *freedom* of will to follow after thoſe things which do pertain unto *ſalvation*; *Quia liberum arbitrium non ideo tollitur quia juvatur, ſed ideo juvatur quia non tollitur*; becauſe our *free-will* is not taken *away*, becauſe it is *helped*, but it is therefore *helped* becauſe it is not taken *away*, as the ſame Sr. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh. And *Fulgentius* hath the like ſaying, *l. 2. De veritate prædeſt.* Eph. 2. 10. Mat. 11. 28. *Aug. in Epiſt. 89. quæſt. 2.*

And therefore ſeeing the Devil can neither *forcibly* compel us to any *evil*, nor *violently* detain us from any *good*, but only by the propoſal of *ſeducing* objects, and by the ſubtle *obſcuring* the beauty of the *perfect* good, to *allure* us unto the one, and to withdraw us from the other, we ought to arm our ſelves with a *reſolution* to follow the *counſel* of the Prophet, to *Seek the Lord, that we might live*, and not die; for *Why will you die, O ye Inhabitants of* England? How the devil inticeth us, and cannot compel us to ſin.

But in this our *inquiſition* and ſearch after God, we ought *carefully* to conſider of theſe four particulars. Four things to be conſidered in our ſearch for God.

For,
1. To find out the *cauſe*, why he *left* us.
2. To go to the *place*, where he *reſideth*.
3. To know the *time*, when he may be *found*.
4. To underſtand the *manner*, how we are to *ſeek* him.

1. God

1. To know the cause why God left us. Psal. 147. 14.

1. God *was amongst us as in the holy place of Sinai*, and then *Kings with their Armies did flee*, and were discomfited, and we of his household *divided the spoyl*; and then God sent *a gracious rain* upon his Inheritance, and refreshed it when it was weary, and poured his *benefits* upon us; he made *peace* in all our borders, and filled us *with the flower of wheat*, and he blessed us so, that we were even *envied* for our happiness; but now *he hath forsaken us*, and hideth his face from us, and *goeth not forth with our Armies*, but he hath kindled his *wrath* against us, and counted us *as one of his enemies*; he hath made *his arrows drunk in our blood*, and his terrours do set themselves *in array* against us, so that now we are a *by-word* among the Heathens, and our *enemies laugh us to scorn*.

Job 19. 11.

Cap. 6. 4.

Therefore as the good *Physitian* first searcheth out the *cause* of the disease, and then prepareth a *potion* for the cure; and as *Joshuah*, when God turned away from the children of *Israel*, and delivered them up into the hands of their *Enemies*, never left *searching*, till he had found out the *accursed* thing, that was the *cause* of their destruction; and *David* also, when there was a *famine* three years, *year after year*, inquired of the Lord, what should be the *cause* thereof; so we must *inquire* and search out the *cause* why the Lord hath *overthrown all our hedges*, and given us as a *spoyle* unto our Neighbours. And herein as *Demodacus* said of the *Milesians*, they were no *fools*, but they did *the same things that fools did*: So I say, we are no *Israelites*, but I fear we have committed *the same sins* as the *Israelites* did, *Idolatry*, *injustice*, and *contempt* of our Teachers: nay, have we not *added* unto these *Sacriledge*, *Perjury*, *Drunkenness*, *Luxury*, and all kind of uncleanness? Yea, have we not made *injustice*, and *perjury*, and *sacriledge*, and *contempt* of the Ministers, and *rebellion* against the *Ordinance* of God, and many *other* sins that formerly were but *personal* sins, now to become *national*, when they are *committed*, *continued*, and *maintained* by the *Representatives* of the whole Kingdom? And shall not *my soul be avenged on such a nation as this*, saith the Lord? Yes, saith our Prophet, *woe shall be to them that desire the day of the Lord*, for *it is darkness and not light*, *and it shall*

Josh. 7. 18. 2 Sam 21. 1.

We have committed the same sins, and more sins, and more hainously than the *Israelites* did.

Vers. 19.

be

be as if a man did flee from a Lion, and a Bear met him: that is, to eſcape the *leaſt*, and to fall into the *greater* puniſhment; becauſe the *Lion* is a more noble enemy than the *Bear*, when as the Poet ſaith,

Parcere proſtratis ſcit nobilis ira Leonis.

But the *Bear* is a moſt *ravenous* raging Beaſt, that will tear us all to pieces; ſo it is to eſcape the *Sword* and to die by *Famine*, to provide againſt *Famine* and to be deſtroyed by the *Peſtilence*, which ſhall follow one *another* ſo long as we *continue* in our ſins; and the *wrath* of the Lord ſhall not be turned *away*, but *his hand will be ſtretched out ſtill:* As in *Levit.*26. after many plagues he addeth, *I will bring ſeven times more plagues upon you for your ſins.* And therefore if you would turn away the *wrath* of God, you muſt turn away from *theſe ſins* that have *provoked* him to wrath; *Quia ſublata cauſa tollitur effectus.* And then Moſ.5.12.14.

2. If you would *find* the Lord, you muſt go to the *place* where he reſideth; for though *Enter præſenter Deus eſt ubique poten er*, in reſpect of his omnipotent *Eſſence*, the ſpirit of the Lord *fill*eth *all* places: *If we climb up into Heaven he is there, if we go down to Hell he is there alſo*; and as the Schools ſay, he is *Supra cœlos non elatus, ſubter terram non depreſſus, intra mundum non incluſus, extra mundum non excluſus:* yet in reſpect of his *favourable preſence* he is not to be found in *every* place; for if you ſeek the *righteous* God among *unrighteous* men, the *faithful* God among *lying* perjurers, as the *Grecians* ſought for *Helen* in *Troy*, when ſhe was with *Proteus* in *Egypt*, we ſhall be ſure to *miſs* him; becauſe *the holy ſpirit of diſcipline fleeth from deceit, and dwelleth not in the body that is ſubject unto ſin*; and therefore the *place* is to be conſidered where we muſt *ſeek* him: and that is principally 2. The place where God may be found. How God filleth all places.

{ 1. The *Church* of Chriſt, among the faithful. And
{ 2. The *holy* Scriptures of the Prophets and Apoſtles.

God is found 1. In the Church among the faithful.

1. As *Joſeph* and *Mary* when they loſt Chriſt, found him not in the *waies* among their *friends* and acquaintance, but in the *Temple* among the *Doctors*; ſo we ſhall find him, not in the *factious* confederacies of *private* Conventicles, but in the *publique*

Psal 26.8. *lique* assemblies of Gods *holy* Church, which is the *place where his honour dwelleth*; not among *Perjurers*, *Lyers*, *Rebels*, and the like, but among the *faithful*, and among those that *fear* the Lord; for *The Lord is with them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy*, and with such he may be found.

Psal.1.1. And therefore if you would *find* the Lord, you must not *walk in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stand in the way of sinners, nor sit in the seat of the scornful*; you must have nothing to do *with the stool or seat of wickedness*, which imagineth *mischief*, and doth countenance their *wickedness* by a Law; but where you see the *righteous* gathering themselves in the *name* of Christ, and joyning their *forces* in the *fear* of God, there is the Lord in the midst of them, even as himself hath promised; *I will dwell in them, and walk in them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people.*

Lev.26.12.

2 In the holy Scriptures. 2. As we may find the Lord in the *Church* of the righteous, so we may find him in the *holy Scriptures*; not in the Turks *Alcoron*, nor in the Popes *Canon*, nor in mans *Tradition*, nor in any like *unwritten* verities, which are the *muddy* inventions of *distracted* brains, and the idle vanities of *seduced* souls; we send you to no such *places* to seek the Lord, whatsoever the *malice* of our adversaries saith of us; but we direct you to the *pure* Word of God, ὁ λόγος ὁ σὸς ἀλήθεια, for *thy Word is truth*, and the Scriptures μάρτυρες σοῦ περὶ ἐμοῦ, *testifie of me*, saith our Saviour; and therefore *Delicia meæ scripturæ tuæ*, thy Scriptures are my delights, saith S. *Augustine*; and the reason is rendered by S. *Hierom*; because they are able (as the Apostle saith) *to make us wise unto salvation*; and all wisdom without *this* is but meer foolishness; for, *Quid prodest esse peritum & peritorum?* what will it boot a man to be *wise* unto perdition, to be subtle to play the Rebel, to be a crafty Traytor, and to go to *Hell* with a great deal of *wit* and learning, as St. *Augustine* speaketh?

John 17.17. John.5.39. *Aug.confes. l.11.c.2.* 2 Tim.3.13. *Hieron.in ep. ad demetriad.* *Aug.quo sup.*

Psal.120.4,5. Therefore though you should be constrained *to dwell with Meshec*, and to have your habitation *among the tents of Kedar*, among the *Egyptians* or *Babylonians*, among them that are enemies unto peace, as God knows how *soon* any of us may be

be taken by ſuch enemies: yet if we *leave* them, and take the *holy* Scriptures, there we ſhall have the *Lord* to be our companion, though we ſhould be ſhut up with *Jeremy* in the *dungeon*. But

3. For the *time* of ſeeking God, you muſt remember that the Prophet bids us *Seek the Lord while he may be found*; and many men ſeek ſalvation, *in medio gehennæ quæ operata eſt in medio terræ*; and therefore miſtaking their *time* they miſs to *find* it; for God allowed us *no time*, to ſeek him, but the time *preſent*, during *this* life, and no *other* time; and you know the firſt Aphoriſm of *Hippocrates* is, that *Ars longa, vita brevis*, Art is *long*, and our Life is *ſhort*; yea, ſo ſhort, that as *Seneca* ſaith, *Ariſtotle*, *Theophraſtus*, and others, quarrelled with *nature* for giving *beaſts* and *plants* ſo *long* an age, and to man ſo *ſhort* a time, which as the Prophet ſaith, is but a *ſpan* long, a *dreame*, a *thought*, a *nothing*; ſo ſoon paſſeth our time away, and we are gone. And yet it is ſtrange to ſee, how men do ſpend that *little* time which they have to live, *aut nihil agendo, aut malè agendo*, either in doing *nothing*, or that *evil* which is indeed far *worſe* than nothing; for though you ſee no man willing to part with his *money*, yet you may find how *laviſh* every man is of his *time*, which is more *pretious* than all wealth: And *Seneca* tels us of *divers* men in his time, that ſpent *every* day an hour or two in the *Barbers* ſhop, to cut down thoſe *hairs* that grew the *night* before, and were more *curious* of their locks than they were *careful* of the Common-wealth; and *others* worſe than theſe, ſpend their time in *gaming*, drinking, and oppreſſing their *poor* Neighbours; and they are very loath to conſider, how *vainly* and how wickedly they do waſt their dayes: for he that hath deſired with *ambition*, conquered with *inſolency*, cozened with *ſubtilty*, plundered with *covetouſneſs*, and mis-ſpent all by *prodigality*, muſt needs be affraid to *review* thoſe things, which muſt needs make him *aſhamed*; or if theſe men have ſo *much* grace to look back to ſee what they have *mis-ſpent*, before they have *ſpent* all, then ſhall you hear them ſay, that if they were *young* again, they would *change* their courſe, and *Seek the Lord*, that they might *live*, and not

3. The time when God may be found.

Seneca de brevitat. vita, c. 1.

Pſal 90. 10.

Seneca de brevit. vit. c. 12.

lose their lives in following after *lying* vanities; but alas that cannot be; for as *Plato* saith, πάντα ῥεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει, time and tyde stay for no man, and as the Poet saith, *nec quæ preteriit hora redire potest*, that which is *past* cannot be recalled again; and *Seneca* saith, that the greatest Poet that ever was tells us, our *happiest* dayes do pass from us *first*.

Eccles. 12 1. And therefore I say to you *young* men, *remember your Creator in the daies of your youth*, and as *Timothy* had known

2 Tim. 3. 15. the Scriptures, ἀπὸ βρέφους καὶ ἐκτρεφόμενος, and was *nursed* up in the *fear* of the Lord, so do you; for what will it avail you to compose your *speech* according to the rules of *Lilly*, and the Rhetorick of *Cicero*, and not to have your *lives* answerable to the rules of *charity* and the precepts of the *holy* Scriptures? to learn out of *Aristotle* the nature of the *creatures*, and to remain ignorant of the will of the *Creator*? and to have learned that whereby you may live *richly* here for a while, and to neglect that whereby you may live *happily* hereafter for ever? And I say to you *old* men that *nunquam sera est ad pœnitendum via*, it is never too *late* to repent if you can but *truly* repent; for he that requireth your *first* fruits refuseth not your last age; And I say to you all, *to day if you will*

Psal 95. *hear his voice, harden not your hearts*; for *now is the time acceptable, now is the day of Salvation*; & *semper nocuit differre vocatis*.

When we ought most especially to seek the Lord. But though we ought at *all times* in all *places* to seek the Lord, yet there are *some* times wherein we ought more *especially* and more *earnestly* to seek after him, than at *all* other times; and those are the *times of troubles* and adversities, when God

Psal 50 15. Mat. 11. 28. scourgeth us for losing him: for so God biddeth us, *call upon me in the time of trouble*; and Christ saith, *come unto me all you that travel and are heavy Laden*; and so the Brethren of *Joseph* sought unto God in their *troubles*, and the Mariners that

Jonas 1. 5, 7. transported *Jonas*, though but heathens, yet will they call *every* man upon his God, when the Sea was ready to swallow

Mat. 8. 25. them up; and the Disciples being in the *like* danger came crying unto Christ, and said, κύριε σῶσον ἡμᾶς, ἀπολλύμεθα, *Lord save us, we perish*; and they that will not seek the Lord in their

their distress will never seek him; for the Prophet speaking of the wicked, saith, *fill their faces with shame, that they may seek thy* name: and of them that will not *then* seek him, the Lord saith, *Why should ye be stricken any more?* as if he had said, you are *now* past *all* hope, when your *afflictions* cannot make you seek the Lord, but that you will revolt *more and more*, and prove like *Pharaoh*, that the more the Lord *plagued* him, the more he *hardened* his own heart. Psal. 83. 16. Isa. 1. 5. Exod. c. 8, c. 9, c. 10.

And therefore seeing the Lord hath *now* bent his *bow like an enemy*, and set us as a *mark for the arrow*, he hath set *our necks under persecution*, and turned our *songs* into mournings, and our *happy* and *long* continued Peace into *cruel* Wars: though *heretofore* we have past our time in *vanities*, and have *neglected* to seek the Lord: yet if we have *any* grace, let us *now* seek unto the Lord, and say with the Prophet, *O Lord, wherefore dost thou forget us for ever, and forsake us so long a time? turn thou us unto thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned, renew our daies as of old.* And Lam. 5. 23, 21.

4. For the *manner* how we ought to *seek* the Lord, it must be. 4 The manner how we ought to seek the Lord.

1. *Totally* with all our parts.
2. *Carefully* with all diligence.

1 Totally with all parts.

1. With all our parts of body and soul, *externally* and *internally*, with *outward* profession, and with *inward* obedience. For 1 of our bodies 1 Cor. 6. 20.

1. *Externally* we are to *glorifie God in our body*, that is, *with our members*, with *bended* knees, with our eyes *lifted* up to Heaven, and with our tongues *praising* God, and *confessing* our own sins; that God may be *justified in his sayings and clear when we are judged*, otherwise, as many *ask* and *receive not*, *because they ask amiss*, that is, *aut præter verbum aut non propter verbum*, either not according to Gods will, or not for Christ his sake: so many men do *seek* and find not, because they seek *amiss*, either too *proudly* or too *remissly*, or some way else otherwise than they ought to seek; and therefore that you may not *miss* to find, I beseech you mark *how* you may seek aright, as other godly men have done; and that is briefly. Rom. 3. 4. James 4. 3. Our outward seeking consisteth chiefly in three points.

Humi-

1 Humbling our selves.

1. *Humiliando corpus*: by humbling our bodies.
2. *Confitendo peccata*, confessing our sins.
3. *Orando Deum*, praying to God. For

1. Look upon the Saints of the former times, and see how
2 Reg.22.11, 19 they *humbled* themselves when they *sought* the Lord; for when
Psal.51.17. *Sennacherib* sent *Rabshecah* against *Hierusalem*, *Hezechiah* rent
2 Chron.12.7. his *cloaths*, and covered himself with *Sackcloath*, and went in-
Judges 20.26. to the *House* of the Lord. When *Josias* heard the *Curses* of the
2 Chron.7.14. Law against the *transgressours* thereof, his *heart was tender*, saith the Text, and he *humbled* himself and rent his *cloaths*, and *wept before the Lord*; and so did *Ahab*, though but an Hypocrite, and the King of *Nineveh*, though but an Heathen, and all that sought the Lord *aright*, humbled themselves before the Lord: and to testifie the *trueness* of their *humiliation* they rent their *cloaths*, they put on *Sackcloath*, they besprinkled themselves with *ashes*, they went *barefoot*, and they *fasted* from all meat, *& a licitis abstinuerunt, quia concupierunt illicita.* For though a beggar may be proud in his *rags*, and another may be humbled in *scarlet*, yet *quia per exteriora cognoscuntur interiora*, and our *habits* and actions should suit with the times and *occasions*, as we put on *wedding* garments and our *mourning* weeds, when the *times* do call for such: so it is not fit to come with *proud* hearts, *vain* habits, *wanton* looks, and *patched* faces, when we come *fasting* and to be *humbled* for our
Psal 35.13. sins, for this is not to *humble our selves with fasting*, as the Prophet speaketh.

2 Confessing our sins. 2. We must *confess* our sins and acknowledge our own *unrighteousness*. *We have transgressed and Rebelled*, saith the Prophet *Jeremy*; and *Baruch* setteth down the form of the confession that we should make, saying, *to the Lord our God belongeth righteousness, but to us the confusion of faces, to our Kings,*
Lam.3 42. Bar.1.15,16. & c.2 12. Dan 6.5,& 8. & Ezra.6.6. *and to our Princes, and to our Priests, and to our Prophets, and to our Fathers, for we have sinned before the Lord, we have done ungodly,* we have *dealt unrighteously in all thine Ordinances*: and the Prophet *Daniel* maketh the very *same* confession; and so *David*, when God sent the *Plague* among his people, confessed his *own*
2 Sam. 24. 17. sins, saying, *I have sinned, and I have done wickedly*: and the reason

reason of this is rendred by *Solomon*, *He that hideth his sins shall not prosper, but he that confesseth and forsaketh the same shall find mercy.* Prov. 28. 13.

And therefore I do *confess* the sins of the *Clergy*, we have not *discharged* our duties as we *ought* to do; and I would say a *great* deal more of the *highest* order of our Calling, but that a *great* deal more than is *true* is said by others: for we will not *excuse* our selves: but as the Poet saith of Women. Gen. 3. 12. 1 Sam. 15. 21.

Parcite pancarum diffundere crimen in omnes.

Blame not all because some are lewd, so I say of the *Bishops* and Clergy: let every horse bear his own burthen, let them that *transgress*, if you know any such, be *severely* punished, and as their lives should be more *holy*, so let the punishment of the offenders be the more *exemplary*, and let that *Judas* that wil betray his Master have the reward of *Judas*: but as Christ cashiered not *all* the Apostles, because *Judas* was a Traytor, and *Peter* a denier of his Master: so should not we destroy the *Calling*, or as *Abraham* saith, destroy *the righteous with the wicked*, because *some* of them in your opinion may be unworthy of that calling: for this would be *culpam flagitio fugare*, to drive away sin by a greater sin, *& verrere domum*, in stead of *verrere domum*, to *destroy* the house, when they should but *sweep* the house.

And as the *Priests* so must the *People* confess their sins if they would *find* the Lord, for it will not serve our *turn* to recriminate, to do as *Adam* did, lay the fault upon the *woman*, or as *Saul* did, to post over his fault unto the *People*: it is not the way to find the Lord, to lay all the *blame* upon the *Parliament*, and to make the *Rebels* the sole *causes* of our miseries: for though they cannot be *excused* for their wickedness, yet you may be assured we suffer *all* this that is come upon us for our *own* sins, though not for the sin of *Rebellion*, yet for *other* odious sins, that have *provoked* God to stir up these *Rebels* to punish us; and as the Prophet saith, *erravimus cum patribus*, so it may be, we might, if we would *confess* the truth, say *erravimus cum fratribus*, we have in *some* sort committed the *same* sins with them; for sins may be commit-

Sins may be committed divers waies.

committed divers waies, as 1. By *acting* it. 2. By *commanding* it, as *David* did *Joab* to kill *Urias*. 3. By *Counselling* how to do it, as *Balaam* did *Balac* to intangle *Israel*. 4. By *consenting* to it, as

Psal. 50. 8. *David* speaketh, *When thou sawest a thief thou consentest unto him, and hast been partaker with the adulterer.* 5. By *delighting* to see it

Rom. 1. 32. done, as St. *Paul* saith, *to have pleasure in them that* sin. 6. By our *silence*, conniving and not *hindering* sin to be committed, when it lyeth in our *power*, and it is our *duty* so to do; for *qui non vetat peccare cum possit, jubet*; and if any of you that are *here*, have or had your *hearts* at *London* in any of these waies, the

Rev 2. 14. or a few things *Holy Ghost* will tell you, though thou hast not denied my *faith*, when thou dwellest even where *Satans seat* is, yet ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ ὀλίγα I have *somewhat against* thee; because thou shouldst have *nothing*

Psal 94. 20. *to do*, no compliance at all *with the stool of wickedness, which frameth mischief by a Law:* and therefore *repent*, and be not ashamed to *confess* your sins to God, if you would find the Lord. And

For in all this I speak not of Popish and auricular confession to the Priest.

3. We must make our *humble* and our fervent *Prayers* to God, that he would *forgive* us our sins, and be *intreated* for us, and reconciled unto us for his *mercies* sake, and for his son *Jesus* Christ his sake; *Lord have mercy upon us, and forgive us our sins*, that we have sinned against thee; for this was the

3 Fervent prayers. *practice* of all the Saints of God, in all their calamities, as you may see, when the *Israelites* murmured against *Moses*, and God

Num. 14. 19. would have *utterly* destroyed them for it, *Moses* prayed unto the Lord, and said, *Pardon I beseech thee the iniquity of this people, according to the greatness of thy mercy*; so when *Sennacherib* came against *Hierusalem*, *Hezechiah* the King and

2 Chron 32. 20. *Isaiah* the Prophet prayed, and *cryed to heaven:* And his prayer is set down, 2 *Reg.* 19. 15. and when the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, in a huge multitude, came against *Jehosaphat*, *he set himself to seek the Lord*, saith the Text, and *proclaimed a Fast throughout all Judah*, and made an *excellent* prayer to God, 2 *Chron.* 20. 6. *usque ad vers.* 13. which I desire you to read and *observe* it well; so *Daniel*, after he had made *confession* of the sins of the people, makes an *earnest* and most fervent *Prayer* to God for the remission of their sins; so *David* saith

unto

unto God; *look upon mine adversities and miseries and forgive me all my sins:* and Christ biddeth us to *ask, and we should have, quæ ad* 20. ver. *Mat.*7.7. Dan 9.16 *usque*

And if we thus unfainedly *confess* our sins, and fervently beg pardon, and constantly *forsake* our sins, God is *faithful*, (saith the Apostle) that is, *faithful*, because he promised, to *forgive us our sins.* Psal.25.17. 1 Joh.1.9.

2. As we are to seek the Lord *externally*, with all the parts of our *bodies*, so we are to seek him *internally*, with all the faculties of our *soul*; and as *David* concludes this *manner* to his Son *Solomon*, it must be *with a perfect heart, and a willing mind*, for otherwise to *seek* the Lord with *outward* profession, and not with *inward* obedience is but meer *hypocrisie*, like the Religion of the *Jews*, that were ever *handling* of holy things, but without *feeling*, and drew near unto God *with their mouths*, and honoured him *with their lips*, when they *called* upon him, and *prayed unto him*, but *removed their hearts far from him:* And therefore God *abhorred* their devotion, and said, *I hate, I despise your feast daies*, and *I will not smell in your solemn assemblies, though you offer me burnt offerings, and your meat offerings, I will not accept them, neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat Beasts*, and as the Lord saith in *Jerem. When they fast, I will not hear their cry*, and when they offer *burnt offering* and oblation, *I will not accept them*, but I will *consume* them by the *Sword*, and by the *Famine*, and by the *Pestilence*: because this *outward* profession is none otherwise than a *shadow* that is something in *show* but nothing in *substance*, or like *Zeuxis* and *Parhasius* Pictures, whereof *Zeuxis* deceived the *birds* with his counterfeit grapes, and *Parhasius* deceived his *fellow Painter* with the Picture of a Sheet. 2. With all the faculties of our souls. 1 Chro.28 9. Isa.29.13. Amos 5.21.22. & Isa.1.11. Jer.14.12. Outward profession what it is like.

But let not us deceive our selves with a *sheet* or a *shadow* of holiness, and think that *current* which is but counterfeit: for we must seek the Lord with *all our hearts*, or otherwise, if we offer Sacrifice with *Cain*, and pray with the *Pharisee*, and fast with the *Jews* to *strife and debate*, or with the *Rebels* to plunder and murder, and hear as many Sermons as the *pre-* Isa.58.4.

ciſeſt Hypocrite, and yet forſake not our *ſins*, and obey not Gods *Ordinance*, to ſubmit our ſelves to the *higher* powers, but *Rebell* againſt Gods Anointed, we may with *Eſau* hunt for a bleſſing, but catch a *curſe*, and ſeek the Lord for *mercy*, but find him in his *juſtice*: when he ſhall ſay unto us, Luke 13.27. οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πόθεν ἐστέ, *I know you not whence you are, depart from me all ye that work iniquity.*

2. We are to ſeek the Lord moſt diligently

2. As we are to ſeek the Lord *totally*, with all the parts both of our bodies and of our ſouls; ſo we are to ſeek him, not *frigide*, coldly and careleſſly, but with all *diligence*, as the woman that loſt her groat *lighted a candle, and ſwept the houſe, and ſought diligently till ſhe found it*; and therefore St. *Chryſoſtome* writing upon theſe words of the Apoſtle, *work out your own Salvation with fear and trembling*, ſaith; he doth not barely uſe the ſimple word Luke 15.8. Phil.2.12. ἐργάζεσθε, work it out, but he ſaith, κατεργάζεσθε, that is, as the Father doth interpret it, μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς καὶ ἀκριβείας, *accurately*, preciſely, and with a *great* deal of care and ſtudy; even as Saint *Paul* ſaith the twelve Tribes ſerved God, Acts 26.7. ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν; *inſtantly* (ſaith our Tranſlation) *day and night*; and ſurely not without great cauſe; for as in the *civil* politie, *ſalus populi eſt ſuprema lex*, the ſafety of *King* and *People* is principally to be regarded; ſo in the *life* of a Chriſtian, *hoc eſt unum neceſſarium*, this ought to be our *chiefeſt* care, to *ſeek the Lord*; for as *Seneca* ſaith of Philoſophy, *ſive aliquid habes, O jam Philoſophare, ſive nihil, hoc prius quære quam quidquam*; ſo much better may I ſay with the Prophet, whether thou haſt *ſomewhat* or nothing; yet *ſeek the Lord* before thou ſeekeſt any thing.

2. The object of our ſeeking the Lord.

2. The *Object* of our ſeeking is the *Lord*: a *Subject* much farther exceeding the former, than the *Cœleſtial* globe is larger than the *Center* of this earth: and therefore he might eaſily be found, if he were but *carefully* ſought: for *Jupiter eſt quodcunque vides* —— and *the Spirit of the Lord filleth all places* being *not far from every one of us*, ſeeing as the Apoſtle ſaith, Acts 17.28. *in him we live, and move, and have our being*: how then can we miſs to *find* him, without whom we cannot chooſe but *loſe* our ſelves?

But

But ſuch is our miſery, that we *ſeek* him not; for as the *ſwine* do eat the *acorns*, yet never look up to the *tree* from whence they fall: ſo do we deal with the *bleſſings* of God: we gather *them*, and yet are ignorant of *him*, and do ſacrifice with the *Athenians* Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ, and therefore we *thank* him not, becauſe we *know* him not, and we *know* him not, becauſe we *ſeek* him not: but many of us ſeek our *Lady*, and not the *Lord*, and pray to her and offer ſacrifice to the *Queen* of heaven, more and better than to the *Lord* of heaven: others *ſeek* to neither *Lord* nor *Lady*, but to their *ſervants*, (that here on earth are *commonly* prouder than their Maſters) to the *Saints* and Angels: others mounting not their thought any *higher* than the *earth*, do only ſeek for the things of *this* world, *quærenda pecunia primum*; ſome for *riches*, ſome for *honours*, and ſome for *revenge*, which is the worſt ſome of all; and others ſeek *knots* in a bulruſh, great *doubts* in *needleſs* points; for I will not touch on thoſe *overwiſe* men, that ſeek to find out the *deepeſt* Myſteries of Gods ſecrets, in his *abſolute* decrees and *unſearchable* waies of *Election* and *Reprobation*, and the like; but of thoſe *lighter* heads, that beſtow their *ſearch* about things of *nothing*, as the *Græcians* did beat their brains to find out how *many rowers Ulyſſes* ſhip had, and whether the *Iliads* or the *Odyſſes* were firſt written; ſo we muſt know whether the ancient *Monks* wore their Cloaks *ſhort* like the *French*, or down to the *heels* like the *Spaniards*, or whether Saint *Auguſtine* wore a *white* garment upon his *black* cloaths, or a *black* cheimer upon a *lawn* ſurplice; and a thouſand ſuch *like* points and ceremonies that are like the *ſpiders* web, which will make no *garment* for them; or like the *banquet* of a ſick mans dream, that will not *ſatisfie* their hungry ſouls, and are raiſed up by the *Devil*, to this *only* end, that while we ſeek after theſe *fruitleſs* things, that may hurt us *much*, but avail us *little*, that may *beſt* be ſpared and ought *leaſt* to be diſputed, we might leave off to ſeek the *Lord*, and thoſe things that do *neceſſarily* pertain unto ſalvation.

What men do ſeek after.

How many men ſearch for trifles.

But *in univerſalibus latet error*, general things are often *dark*, and every one ſaith that he *ſeeks the Lord*, but that either

What it is to ſeek the Lord

Ver. 14. *he maketh darkneſs his ſecret place, his pavilion round about him with dark waters and thick clouds to cover him*; or elſe *dwelleth* Pſal. 37 27. *in the light that no man can attain unto it*; otherwiſe, God forbid, that you ſhould *imagine*, ſaith every man, that we do not *ſeek the Lord*. Therefore to take away this *curtain*, to *unvail* this glorious face, and to let you ſee, that *few* of us do *ſeek the Lord*, whatſoever we ſay, the Prophet tells us plainly, that *to ſeek the Lord*, is to *ſeek good*, and *not evil*, or, as he explaine h it further in the immediate Verſe 15. it is *to hate the evil and love the good*, and to *eſtabliſh judgement in the gate*; and this the Prophet *David* ſaid long before, *eſchew evil, and do good, and dwell for evermore*.

Beſides, God is *truth*, and God is *juſtice*; therefore you muſt ſeek the *truth*, and you muſt do *juſtice*: for *When truth ſhall flouriſh out of the earth, and righteouſneſs, ſhall look down from* Pſa. 85. 11, 12. *heaven*, then the *Lord will ſhew loving kindneſs he will ſpeak peace unto his people, and our Land ſhall give her increaſe*; but while our Land flows with *Lies*, and the father of lies *rewards* the Liers, and ſpreads them abroad to uphold *robberies*, oppreſſions, and rebellions; the Lord will not *ſpeak peace* unto us; becauſe *righteouſneſs and peace have kiſſed each other*; and therefore though we ſhould be never ſo *deſirous* of peace, and to procure *peace*, be contented, it ſhould be done upon *unrighteous* terms, it may be with the ruine of the *Church*; yet it cannot be; becauſe it is not in the power of *any* man, no not of the *King* himſelf to *conclude* a peace, when God *proclaimeth* war; for as he calleth for a *ſword* upon the Inhabitants of a Land, ſo it is he, and he alone, that *maketh wars to ceaſe in all the world, he breaketh the bow, and knappeth the ſpear in ſunder, and burneth the Chariots in the fire, and without him it cannot be done*; as you may ſee in *Jer.* 47. 6. And I *fear* (and I pray God it be but *my* fear) that as the wrath of God was never appeaſed, for the *innocent* bloud of the *Gibeonites*, that *Saul* moſt *unjuſtly* ſpilt, untill it was revenged by *bloud* upon the houſe of *Saul*, ſo the *innocent* bloud, that hath been ſpilt in this *Kingdom*, can never be *expiated*, untill an attonement be made by *bloud*; becauſe that *without bloud there is no remiſſion*,

None can make peace but God. Jer. 25. 29. Pſal. 46. 9.

that

that is, *of bloud*, unleſs they do with *Manaſſes* wipe away the ſtreams of *bloud*, with the ſtreams of moſt *penitent* tears; for *he that ſheddeth mans bloud*, that is, *illegally*, *by man ſhall his bloud be ſhed*, that is, *judiciarily*, by the Magiſtrate, ſaith God in the Old Teſtament; and *all they that take the ſword*, that is, without *due* authority, *ſhall periſh by the ſword*, that is, by *juſt* authority, ſaith our Saviour Chriſt in the New Teſtament; and therefore if your *peace* may not be had with *truth* and according unto *Juſtice*, gird you with your *ſwords* upon your thighs, O you mighty men of valour, and let *the right hand of the moſt higheſt teach you terrible things*, untill as our Prophet ſpeaketh, *judgement ſhall run down as waters, and righteouſneſs as a mighty ſtream*, that is, *ſmoothly* without any manner of oppoſition, as *Montanus* and *Vatablus* render it: Set God and his *truth* alwaies before your eyes, and labour for that *peace*, which may ſtand with the peace of *Conſcience*, and with your peace with *God*; or otherwiſe you may purchaſe a *worldly* peace at too *dear* a rate, it may be with the loſs of your ſouls; when *God* ſhall ſay unto you, as he doth unto the *Jews*; *Shall not I viſit for theſe things?* as if he ſaid, you indeed for your *peace* and proſperities ſake, for fear of *danger*, and in hope of *reſt*, may be contented to *wink* at all theſe ſins that have *provoked* me to wrath, and perhaps to ſell my *truth*, and ſuffer my *ſervice* to be abuſed, and my *ſervants* to be deſtroyed, that you may live in *peace*: but do you think *that I am ſuch an one as your ſelves*, or that I will *ſuffer* all theſe things to go *unrevenged?* No, no, ſaith the Prophet, *The Lord is known to execute judgement, and he will be Judge himſelf*; he will kindle the *fire*, and none ſhall quench it. Ver. 24.

And therefore *noble* and religious Gentlemen, that love your *God* better than the *World*, and his *eternal* honour better than your own *temporal* happineſs, *love peace* and enſue it, but let it be with the *truth* and with *juſtice*; let the ſtory of the worthy *Maccabees* be ſet before your eyes, that rather than they would *change* their Religion, or ſuffer the *ſervice* of God *any* waies to be impaired, and their *Eccleſiaſtical* government to be in any thing changed, they ſold their *peace* with the loſs of

their

their *lives*, which is their everlasting praise; and here I do profess, I do most *heartily* wish for peace, and would think my self most *happy* to see peace established, *as of old*; but rather than I should see it with the ruine of the *Church*, with a *Presbyterian* Discipline, that new-sprung out-landish *weed* of mans invention, and no *plant* of Gods plantation, I beseech Almighty God, that I may *beg* my bread and seek it in *desolate* places, that my *blood* may be poured like water upon the ground, and the *remainder* of my years may be cut off from the Land of the Living; so much do I desire to imbrace mine own *misery*, rather than to see the Churches *infelicity*, and the service of God so much vilified. And I am confident, that all my *brethren* the Bishops and Prelates will say with *Jonas*, *Si propter nos hac tempestas*, if you see just cause, cast us all into the sea, so you save the Ship of *Christ*, preserve the *Church*, rent not the *garment* of Christ, devour not the *revennes* of the Clergy, and destroy not the *government* that was established by the *Apostles*, and continued to Gods *glory* and the gaining of so many *thousand* souls to Christ, from his *being* on earth to this *very* day; because the *dishonour* that must *infallibly* redound to God, and the *detriment* that must fall to the Church of Christ, by the abolishing of *Episcopacy*, troubleth us a great deal more, than any *loss* that can happen unto our selves; for did we see the same government, with the same *power*, as it ought to be, setled on any other persons; though our selves were degraded, (how *justly* we would leave the censure unto God,) you should never hear me speak much thereof.

If we *alone* be the cause of *all* this storm, and if our persons by any thing, that could be done to us, could appease these distractions, and procure the peace of the Church and State, do what you will to us. *Non multum nos movebit.*

So you see what it is to *seek the Lord*, not his *Essence* which is *incomprehensible*, but to do his *will*, and to obey his Commandments which is most *acceptable* unto him, as to *love* him, to *pray* unto him, to *rely* upon him, and to *do* towards all men, that which is *just* and righteous in his sight. Or to set down all in a *word*, do as the Lord *directs* you, and you *shall live*; and that is,

What we ought to do to live.

1. To do your own *best endeavours* to preserve your lives.
And yet
2. Refer the *preservation* of your lives *only* unto God.

1. In

1. In the time of *peace* and proſperity, the *beſt* way for us to *preſerve* our life is to *ſerve* God; for if you *honour your father and mother*, your daies ſhall *be long in the Land*, ſaith the Lord himſelf; and ſo the keeping of his *other* Precepts is the *preſervation* of our lives. But the *blood-thirſty and deceitful man ſhall not live out half his daies:* and ſo the drunkard, the luxurious and the malicious ſhall by their *ſins* diminiſh their years; becauſe ſin is that ſharp *Atropos* which cutteth off the *thread* of mans life, and the great *Epitomiſer* which abbreviates all things unto us; as it *waſteth* our wealth, it *deſtroyeth* our health, it *confineth* our liberty, it *ſhorteneth* our daies, and to ſum all in one *Cataſtrophe*, it *brings* us all into our graves: when as *Trajan* ſaid unto *Valens*, it ſends *victory* unto our enemies, and deſtroyeth us ſooner than our enemies; and therefore as you love your *life*, ſo you muſt hate your *ſin*, and as the Heathens *clipped* the wings of *victory* leſt it ſhould fly away from them unto their enemies; So we muſt *clip* our *ſins*, or elſe victory will fly unto our enemies.

1. To do our beſt to preſerve our own lives.
1. In the time of peace.
Pſal. 55. 23.
Niceph. l. 11. c. 3.

2. In the time of *dangers*, wars, plagues, or any other diſtreſs, we are commanded by God to do our *beſt* to preſerve our lives; for it is not enough for us to ſay, *the Lord will ſave us*, but we muſt do our beſt *to ſave our ſelves*; So the Mariners that carried *Jonas* prayed unto their *Gods*, and yet *rowed*, their beſt to preſerve their lives; So *Jehoſaphat*, *Ezechias* and *Joſias* when the *Armies* of their enemies came againſt them, did put their whole *truſt* in Gods aſſiſtance, and rely upon his *help* for their deliverance; yet they prepared the *inſtruments* of War, they fortified their *Cities*, and gathered all the *ſtrength* of men that they could make to withſtand the *violence* of their Foes; and we muſt do the *like*, when we are in the *like danger*; for though the Scripture bids us, *caſt our care upon God*; yet it bids us not *to caſt away our care*, or to be without care, but to have a *care*, and the *beſt* care that we can take to *preſerve* our lives from the danger of the enemy, to *raiſe* men and money, and as *Solomon* ſaith, to prepare the *horſe for the day of battel*. And then

2. In the time of dangers.
2. To rely wholly upon God.

2. When the *horſe* is prepared, and we have endeavoured

our

our beſt, we muſt refer our *lives* only unto *God*; *it is not in him that willeth*, nor in him that *runneth*, but as the Prophet ſaith, *ſalvation belongeth unto the Lord*; for it is he *that giveth victory in the battel*, and it is he that *ſaveth our life from deſtruction*; for as his *help* will not preſerve us without our *care*; ſo all our *care* cannot ſave us without his *help*; but when *both* theſe go together, then we may be ſure that our *care* and indeavour with his *favour* and aſſiſtance will ſo preſerve us that we ſhall live.

Therefore when we *loſe* and are put to the *worſt*, we ſhould not be *dejected*, which is the fault of *too* many of us, but we ſhould ſay with King *David*, *I will yet truſt in God, which is the help of my countenance and my God*; and when we *gain* and get the *better* of our enemies, we ſhould not be *puffed* up with *pride*, and diminiſh the *praiſe* of God, who *gave* us the better, which is the fault of as *many* more, that aſcribe too *much* unto themſelves and too *little* to Gods goodneſs: but, as the Poet ſaith of *Pompey*, ſo much more ſhould we ſay, that are Chriſtians.

——— Non me videre ſuperbum
Proſpera fatorum, nec fractum adverſa videbunt.

Or as *Menivenſis* ſaith of King *Alfred*,

Si modo victor erat ad craſtina bella pavebat,
Si modo victus erat ad craſtina bella parabat.

So ſhould we do, in *all* fortunes go on, *eodem vultus tenori*, and in all our *actions* rely on God, and refer our ſelves *wholly* unto him: and doing ſo, we ſhall be ſure *to live*.

1. Becauſe he hath promiſed us, that if we thus ſeek him according to his will, we ſhall live according as we deſire; and he is not as man that he ſhould lye, nor as the Son of man that he ſhould *change his mind*, but he is *Yea and Amen*, he is truth it ſelf: and therefore *ſicut verus eſt in retributione malorum, ita verax eſt in promiſſione bonorum*, as he is moſt certain in the *puniſhment* of the wicked, ſo he is as certain in his *promiſe* to the godly.

2. Reaſon. 2. Becauſe he is *willing* to ſave us, and therefore cryeth unto us, *Why will ye dye? why will ye dye: O ye houſe of Iſrael?*

For

For *as I live ſaith the Lord, I deſire not the death of a ſinner*; and it is worth our obſervation to conſider how *pathetically* and how feelingly he ſpeaketh to this purpoſe: *O that my people would have hearkened unto me, for if Iſrael had walked in my waies, I ſhould ſoon have put down their enemies, and turned my hand againſt their adverſaries; the haters of the Lord ſhould have been found lyars, but their time ſhould have endured for ever.* Pſal.81.14,15, 16.

3. Becauſe he is *able* both to *performe* his promiſe, and to *ſatisfie* our deſires: which our Prophet ſheweth at large, ſaying, *Seek him that maketh the ſeven ſtars, and Orion, and turneth the ſhadow of death into the morning, and maketh the day dark with night, that calleth for the waters of the Sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth:* that is, as St. *Hieron.* ſheweth, ſeek him that is the Creator of all things, that is mighty to ſave, and able to do *whatſoever* he pleaſeth, to ſtrengthen the ſpoyled, as *Vatab.* and *Arias* ſay: or as *Aquila* turns it, *ſubridere potentiam potentium*, to ſcorn the *ſtrength* of the mighty, and to deſtroy the deſtroyer. 3. Reaſon. Ver.8. *Fortificare debiles.* Ver.9.

And therefore if God be *with* us, though we be *weak* and our enemies *ſtrong*, we few and they many, yet we need not fear them: becauſe we rely not upon our own *ſtrength*, but upon the aſſiſtance of our God, *qui dividit contritionem ſuper fortitudinem*, which caſteth *abundance* of deſtructions upon the mighty, as the *Septuagint* render the words of the Prophet; and though we be *ſimple*, and our enemies *ſubtle* and crafty, full of all politique devices, to raiſe *men* and to get *money*, and to *unite* their ſtrength by wicked *Covenants*, Oaths and Aſſociations: yet we need not fear, becauſe we relye not upon our own *wit*, but upon the *wiſdom* of God, which can *deſtroy the wiſdom of the wiſe, and caſt away the underſtanding of the prudent*, and turn the counſel of *Achitophel* to his own deſtruction: *& non eſt concilium contra eum:* and therefore, O my beloved Brethren, *ſeek the Lord*, and *fear* not, but, as *Moſes* ſaith, *ſtand ſtill*, that is, *conſtant* in your reſolution, for the *ſervice* of your God and the King, and *behold the ſalvation of the Lord which he will ſhew unto you this day*, or at *this* time: For there is no *reſtraint* unto the Lord *to ſave by many* or *by few*, as both *Jonathan* and *Aſa* teſtifie. 1 Cor.1.19. Prov.21.30. Exod.14.13. 1 Sam.14.6. 2 Chro.14.11.

2. The promiſe

2. The *promiſe* (as I told you at firſt) is the *beſt* of all deſires, *you ſhall live*; the former part was like the *toyſome* labour of the Inhabitants of *Perſepolis*, when they cut the wood with their axes; but this *latter* is like the *feaſt* that *Cyrus* made unto them, when they had finiſhed their Labours: *durus labor, ſed merces dulcis*, though the labour is *hard*, yet the reward is *ſweet*; and it never troubles us, to take *great* pains, where we ſhall be *well* paid, but to labour all *night* with the Apoſtles, and to catch *nothing*, *durus eſt his ſermo*, this is a *hard* ſaying, after a hard *labour*; but it is not ſo in Gods ſervice: for, though in following the *luſts* of the *fleſh*, and the *vanities* of this *World*, *exceſſit medicina modum*, the *reward* that the Devil gives us, ſhall be a great deal *ſorer* than all the pain we have taken in his ſervice: for he deals with us, as *Alexander* did with *Clitus*, *Caliſthenes* and other of his *chiefeſt* Captains; or as *Darius* did with *Eudemus*, to expoſe him unto *death*, when he forſook his own *native* Country, and dedicated his whole life to his command; yet in the ſervice of *Chriſt* it is far otherwiſe: whatſoever a man doth for him he ſhall be rewarded a hundred fold, and though he gives but a *cup of cold water* for his ſake, yet for this, *he ſhall not loſe his reward*; And therefore this ſhould *incourage* us to *ſeek the Lord*, becauſe our *reward* doth ſo far exceed our *work*.

Juſtin. l. 1. hiſt.

How ill ſome maſters reward their ſervants.

Val. Max. l. 9. c. 3. *Curtius* hiſt. l. 3.

How abundantly Chriſt rewardeth his ſervants.

Mat. 10. 42.

But let us conſider the *nature* of this promiſe, *thou ſhalt live*; that is, live *long*, live *well*, and live for *ever*. For

1. The ſeekers of God ſhall live long. Pſal 37. 2.

1. Though the *blood-thirſty and deceitful men ſhall not live out half their daies, and the ungodly ſhall be ſoon cut down like the graſs, gemit ſub pondere tellus*, when the earth is *weary* to bear them on it; yet if we *ſeek the Lord*, our daies *ſhall be long in the Land, which the Lord our God gives us*, and though the *peſtilence*, that walketh in *darkneſs*, and the *arrow* that flyeth in the *noon* day, do threaten our *death* at *every* hour, yet when a thouſand ſhall fall *beſides* us, and ten thouſand on our *right* hand, it ſhall not come nigh us: ſuch is the *reward of ſerving God*.

Pſal. 91. 6.

2. They ſhall live well. Iſa. 3. 10.

2. They ſhall not only *live*, for a *miſerable* life is not ſo good as a happy death, but they ſhall live *well* and happily while they live; for *ſurely it ſhall go well with the righteous*, ſaith the Prophet, and King *David* ſaith, *the Lions* may *want* and *ſuffer hunger*, but

but *they that fear the Lord ſhall want no manner of thing that is good*, and the reaſon is rendred by the Apoſtle, becauſe *godlineſs hath the promiſe both of this life and of the life to come.* And Pſal.34.10. 1 Tim.4.8.

3. If we eſchew *evil* and do *good*, *we ſhall live for evermore*, *& glorioſum imperium ſine fine dabit*, and God will give us a Kingdom without *ending*; And therefore ſeeing this *promiſe* is ſo *plentiful*, it is worth our *labour* that we ſhould *ſeek the Lord.* 3. They ſhall live for ever. Pſal.37.27.

But here, it may be ſome will demand how doth he *performe* his promiſe? for, did not the *Prophets*, the *Apoſtles*, and all the *Martyrs* of the *Primitive* Church *ſeek the Lord*, and *believe* in Chriſt with *all* their hearts; and yet was not *Zachary* ſtoned in the Courts of the houſe of the Lord? *Micheas* killed by *Joram*? *Amos* knockt in the head with a club? *Iſaiah* ſawed in pieces by *Manaſſes*? *John Baptiſt* beheaded? St. *Stephen* ſtoned? *James* killed? St. *Paul* beheaded? St. *Peter* crucified? St. *Thomas* killed with a *Javelin*? St. *Mark* burned? and what ſhall I ſay of *Simeon*, *Polycarpus*, *Juſtinus*, *Attalus*, *Marcella*, *Apollonia*, and abundance more of *holy* Saints, whereof *alii flammis exuſti*, ſome were *burned*, others *beheaded*, and all deprived of their *life* for *ſeeking the Lord* and confeſſing Chriſt? And for any *happy* life the ſervants of God do lead, doth not St. *Paul* ſay that *all which will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus ſhall ſuffer perſecution*; *and afflictions do wait for them in every place*? and when the *ungodly flouriſh like a green bay tree*, cloathed in *ſcarlet*, and fine linnen, and fair *deliciouſly* every day; the poor *Saints* even in their bonds are glad *to eat aſhes as it were bread*, and to *mingle their drink with weeping*? *Object.* How they that ſought the Lord were uſed in this world. *Alii ferro peremti, alii patibulo cruciati.* Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. 2 Tim.3.12. Acts 20.23. Pſal 37.36. Luke 16.

I confeſs this hath been ever a *ſore* objection that diſheartned *many* men, and made King *Davids* feet *well nigh* to ſlip; but if I ſhall obtain your *patience* to ſtay with me a *little* in Gods Sanctuary, I ſhall ſoon unty this *Gordian* knot, or ſo cut it to pieces, that it can no waies be any *hinderance* to our progreſs. For *Sol.*

– 1. *Seneca* proveth, that *long* life conſiſteth not in the great *number* of years, but in *vertuous* actions; and the wiſe man ſaith, *an undefiled life is the old age*; for God eſteemeth of *no* *Seneca de brevit. vitæ c.8.*

Sap. 1. All time loſt that is not ſpent in Gods ſervice.

time but what we ſpend in his *ſervice*; and therefore they that lived 100 years in *pleaſures* have but *loſt* all their time, and been as *dead* all that time which they lived; and thoſe *holy* Saints that were *cut* off in the *midſt* of their daies, have lived *longer*, becauſe they ſpent their *whole* time in Gods ſervice; the other *loſt* their time, and loſt their *life*, as *Titus* was wont to ſay, *diem perdidi*, I loſt the *day*, wherein I did *no* good, and theſe have gained *every* hour. And

2. Afflictions not ſo eſteemed by the Saints as they are by the worldlings.

2. Whatſoever *afflictions* the Saints do ſuffer, we muſt not account them ſo *great* miſeries unto them, as the world takes them; for the Philoſopher tells us, that *quicquid recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis*; and they *eſteem* them not as the world doth; but they *count* them, as the fatherly *chaſtiſements* of Gods *love*, and not any arguments of Gods *hatred*, and as the Poet ſaith,

Una eademque manus vulnus opemque tulit.

How God ſweeteneth the afflictions of his ſervants. 1. Way. Tertul. in apolog.

the *ſame* hand, which layed on their *ſtripes* will heal their *ſores*.

1. By giving them that *invincible* gift of *patience*; which doth more *inrage* their *tormenting* perſecutors, then themſelves are in ſuffering *torments*.

2. Way. Phil. 4. 11.

2. By filling them with true *content*, that is, in *any* eſtate to be *contented*; which is far better than to abound with *wealth*, and to want this heavenly *gift*; for he is *moſt* rich that deſires *nothing*, and he is *beſt* pleaſed, that is *never* diſcontented. And

3. Way. James 1. 2. Rom. 8. 31. Ver. 37.

3. By making them to *rejoyce in tribulation*, and to account it *all joy*, when they fall *into divers temptations*; a ſtrange thing, that they ſhould *rejoyce* in that which the world doth moſt *fear*; yet ſuch is the *caſe* of the righteous, that *neither life, nor death, nor principalities, nor powers, nor any other thing ſhall be able to ſeparate them from the love of God which is in Chriſt Jeſus*; but they abound in *want*, they are content in *Priſon*, they rejoyce in *death*, and in *all* things they are *more than conquerours for his ſake that loved them*.

And therefore to conclude, let us *ſeek the Lord* and we *ſhall live*, and we ſhall be *happy*; becauſe he *never faileth them that ſeek*

ſeek him; but he will *hear* their prayers and will *help* them, ſo that they need *fear* neither the *ſcarlet* gowns, nor the *ſharpeſt* ſwords, neither their *diſſembling* friends, nor their *greateſt* enemies; for that God is with them in *Priſon*, as with *Joſeph*; in the *Sea*, as with *Jonas*; in the *fire*, as with the three Children, and in *all* places, to *preſerve* them, from all *evil* here, and to *bring* them to all *happineſs* hereafter, to live for ever, through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, to whom be *all* praiſe and dominion for ever and ever, *Amen.*

Jehovæ Liberatori.

FINIS.

How the Rebels dealt with the Bishop while he was Preaching this Sermon.

WHile Archimedes was very studious in the framing of his Mathematical proportions, the enemy, saith the Historian, was sacking the Town and pulling him out of his house, or ready to pull down his House about his ears: and not much unlike; That very day, the 8th of March, when I was, as Religious as I could, I am sure, with an unfaigned heart, Preaching this very Sermon in S. Maries, the Rebels out of Northampton, seized upon my House, took away all my goods and Cattel, and as I am informed by a Letter from a faithful Preacher, the Committee concluded to sequester all my Estate, and all that I purchased for my Wife and Children by the indefatigable pains of 17 years service, in an honourable house, to the use of the Parliament; so that now the poor Bishop of Ossory,

Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charibdim;

Or as Lucian saith, shunning the smoak (of the Irish insurrection, that only withheld all that they should pay unto him) he fell into the fire (of the English Rebellion, that thus took all that he had from him;) for which I pray God to forgive them; it doth no waies trouble me, when I know, that he, which lent me all, may justly send whom he will to fetch all away from me; and I do Protest before my God; if I had all the Rebels Estate, yet I should freely without the least dispute, leave it, lose it, and part with it, rather than I would take their wicked Covenant, prove disloyal unto

my

my King, depart an inch *from the* truth *of God, or* any *waies defile my* conſcience *for any* worldly *wealth*; *and I do* heartily *thank my God, that he hath given me* this *reſolution, to* rejoyce *more in the* ſincerity *of this my Profeſſion, than any waies to* grieve *at my loſſes, afflictions or perſecutions: and therefore the taking away* of *my* Eſtate *moves me to* nothing *elſe, but to* pray *to God to give them* grace *to repent them of their* ſins *committed againſt* God, *and their* Rebellion *againſt their* King, *whom God hath commanded them to* honour *and to* obey: *ſo I* leave *them, that left* nothing *beſides* Loyalty *to his King and* fidelity *to his God, unto their Orator, ſtill remaining,*

Gr. Oſſory.

Though the Lord ſlay me, yet will I truſt in him, *ſaith holy Job*; *and though the* pretended *Parliament ſhould rob me to my very* ſhirt; *yet will I both* Preach *and* write *and* pray *againſt their* wickedneſs; *this will I do, ſo* help *me God, who is* my *God, in whom I* truſt. *Amen.*

THE EIGTHTH SERMON.

1833.

MATTHEW 17. 21.

This kind of Devils goeth not out, but by prayer and fasting.

THe holy, and blessed Apostle, S. *Paul*, being a stout Champion of Jesus Christ, saith, He hath fought with beasts at *Ephesus*, which was a great City, full of Great men, and of great wickedness; and he overcame them: and I have fought with beasts in *London*, not inferiour to *Ephesus*, any ways; and with the limbs, head and tayl, of the great *Antichrist*, the members of the long Parliament; and as yet, I praise *Jehovah*, my Deliverer, I escape

 invulnerate;

invulnerate; and now I am to fight with *Devils*, and do hope, by the help of the ſame *Jehovah*, to eſcape their fiery darts, and to be freed from them, if not to foil theſe foul ſpirits; and S. *Paul* ſaith, that when we go about to wraſtle with theſe *Principalities*, and ſpiritual wickedneſs, we muſt put on *the whole armour of God*; and he names them, *Shield, Sword, Helmet*, and all, *Cap-a-pe*: and I will follow his counſel; but principally inſiſt upon theſe two principal weapons, which our Saviour here nameth, and are the fitteſt to combat with thoſe Devils that I am here now to ſtrive withall; and they are *Prayer and Faſting*; for this kind of Devils goeth not out, but *by prayer and faſting*.

Yet in the end of this Treatiſe you, may ſee, how one of theſe *Daimons* before I printed the ſame, dealt with me.

Epheſ. 6. 14, 15, 16.

To begin then, you muſt underſtand, that Chriſtian Profeſſion is reſembled unto a Race, and the Runners in this Race are the Profeſſors of the Chriſtian Religion: men, women and children, nobles, gentles, and beggers, all Chriſtians, and all run in this Race; for ſo S. *Hierome* ſaith, *Stadium eſt hæc vita mortalibus; hic contendimus, ut alibi coronemur*; this life is a Race for all mortal men; and here we, eſpecially that are Chriſtians, do ſtrive, that we may be crowned elſewhere, and our ſtriving, our fighting, and our running muſt be, *Non pedum celeritate*, not by the ſwiftneſs of our feet, were we as ſwift as *Aſahel*, or *Atalanta* the ſwift, *ſed & morum ſanctitate, & fidei probitate contendimus*: but we muſt contend by the holineſs of our life, the ſincerity of our actions and the purity of our faith: and the prize that we run for, is a prize moſt pretious and invaluable, no leſs than a Crown, and a Crown neither of *Olive*, nor of *Oak*, neither of graſs nor of gold, which *Aul. Gellius* ſaith, the *Romans* uſed to give unto their Victors, for theſe are contemptible, and corruptible things; but our prize that we ſtrive and fight for, is a Crown of eternity, which S. *Peter* calleth τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον: a Crown of glory that fadeth not; and Saint *Paul* calleth it, τὸν στέφανον ἄφθαρτον, an incorruptible Crown.

1 Cor 9. 24. Heb. 12. 1.

Hierom. Epiſt. *ad Euſtath.*

Aul. Gellius l. 5. c. 6.

1 Pet. 1. 4.

1 Cor. 9. 25.

Now, the place where we run, and ſtrive, and fight for this incorruptible and never-fading Crown, is *civitas hujus mundi*, the great city of this whole Univerſe, *via lata, & via lata*, a broad

broad way, and a merry way to them that never intend, or ſeldom think to come to the end of this way, but *via aucta, & via anxia*, a narrow way, and a bitter penſive way to them that long to come to a period of their journey; becauſe, as S. *Hierom* ſaith, *Hi magnis inimicorum circumdantur agminibus: & illis hoſtium plena ſunt omnia*; theſe are encompaſſed about with whole troops of enemies, and all things are full of hoſtility againſt them: and S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, that *omnes qui ad Paradiſum redire deſiderant, oportet tranſire per ignem & aquam*; all that deſire to return, and paſs into Paradiſe, muſt paſs through fire and water, through many letts, many hindrances, and many afflictions, that like the flaming ſword in the hand of the Cherubims, do ſtand in our way, to ſtop and hinder our paſſage unto Paradiſe.

Hierom in Ep. ad Euſtach.

Aug. in Serm. ad Alippum.

Gen. 3. 24.

And the chieſeſt obſtacles, and greateſt Enemies that do hinder us, are theſe three ſworn covenanting friends, and forſworn enemies of our ſouls, that, in our Baptiſm, we have promiſed and vowed to fight againſt; that is,

1. *Mundus.*	1. The World.
2. *Caro.*	2. The Fleſh.
3. *Dæmon.*	3. The Devil.

The three chieſeſt enemie that do fight againſt us.

And, though *Hæc tria pro trino numine mundus habet*, the wicked and ungodly men deem of theſe, and adore them, as if they were three Gods; yet we that ſtrive for the incorruptible Crown, muſt be reſolved,

1. To deſpiſe the world, and to trample all the vanities thereof under our feet, and, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Not to faſhion our ſelves like unto it.*
2. To ſubdue the fleſh, and to mortifie all the deeds and luſts of the fleſh, which are *fornication, idolatry, covetouſneſs*, and the like; and as S. *Paul* ſaith, by no means to ſuffer ſin *to reign in our mortal bodie.*
3. To withſtand the Devil moſt manfully, to reſiſt his temptations, and to expel all his wicked motions out of our ſouls.

And becauſe the Devil, *à principio*, from the beginning, was *primitivus peccator*, the firſt ſinner, and now likewiſe is the *primus motor*, the firſt mover, the chief doer of all the damnable plots that plague us, and the chief undoer of every man, he being the agent, and the other two his Aſſiſtants, he the Author, and they the inſtruments, he the grand Captain, and the others his fighting Souldiers againſt our ſouls; therefore I thought it our beſt courſe now, firſt to ſet upon this firſt and worſt of all our enemies; and to ſet down the beſt way to deſtroy him, by deſtroying his plots, that ſeeketh the deſtruction of us all; and to that purpoſe, I know no better way then the right underſtanding and the due performance of that direction which our Saviour for that end, ſetteth down in this parcel of Scripture: *Hoc autem genus Dæmoniorum*, ſaith *Beza*, *non ejicitur* (*non egreditur*, ſaith *Beza*) οὐκ ἐκπορεύεται, is the Greek word, and ἐκπορεύομαι, ſaith *Paſor*, ſignifieth *egredior*, to go out; ſo *this kind of Devils goeth not out, but through prayer and faſting.*

In which words, you ſhall find not *parvum in magno*, ſuch as we find in earthly minerals, a little gold in a great deal of unprofitable earth, but you ſhall find *magnum in parvo*, as it were the whole world in a little Map, abundance of matter in few words, and an incredible ſtore of pure ſubſtance in each particle of this ſhort and moſt comfortable ſentence, that teacheth us to cauſe and make the very Devils to go out, and run away from us: for theſe two words, *Prayer* and *faſting*, rightly done, will make the Devils flie and haſten away from us, when they dare not ſtay any longer; for ſo S *James* ſaith, *Reſiſt the Devil*, that is, by *prayer* and *faſting*, and *he will flie from you.*

James 4 7.

Well then, to proceed; that moſt famous, and moſt excellent Philoſopher, *Ariſtoteles Stagarites*, the light of Nature, and the *Pen-man* of her ſecrets, who like a moſt skilfull Architect doth ſo compoſe his work, *ut nihil deſit addendum, nihilque ſine vitio ſe offerat demendum*, ſaith *Faber Stapulenſis*, that nothing can be added to it, nor any thing taken from it without blame; doth moſt plainly conclude, that of all natural

Faber. Stap. in Præfat Arbic. Ariſt. Epiſt. Joh. Relico.

ral things, there can be, *nec plura nec pauciora, ſed tria tantum modo Principia*, neither more, nor leſs, but only three Beginings, that is. Ariſt. *Phiſ.* l. 1. c. 6.

1. Matter,
2. Form,
3. Privation.

Of which I intend not now *Philoſophically* to diſcourſe, but I only name them, as a pattern of my *method* in this ſucceeding Sermon of the *driving away* of Devils: which I may rightly term the firſt of the three beginnings of a *Chriſtian*; the beginnings I ſay, *non conſtitutionis ſed renovationis*, not of his being and *creation*, but of his well being and *regeneration*; where, by *inverting* the Philoſopher's method, the firſt of theſe muſt be *Privation*. For as the Weeds of a Garden muſt be firſt rooted out, before the delightſom Flowers are planted; ſo the firſt beginning of a *Chriſtian* muſt be *deſtructorium vitiorum*, an ejection of the *Devils* and the deſtruction of all *Vices*, for which purpoſe Saint *John* ſaith, *The Son of God was manifeſted and came into the world, that he might deſtroy the works of the Devil*: then the *ſecond beginning* of our renovation, is *edificatorium virtutum*; to be juſt and upright, and to behave our ſelves *honeſtly*, filled, as many of the very *Gentiles* were, with all *moral virtues*; and the third is, *gratiarum repletorium*, the repleniſhing of our ſouls with all *divine graces*, as *Faith*, *Hope*, *Charity*, *Patience*, and the like: and theſe two laſt do depend upon, and ſucceed the firſt; for, as in Nature, *nullus locus corpore caret, ſed ſemper aliquod corpus continet*, no place wants a body, but it alwayes holdeth ſome one body or other; as when one body departs and gives place, another body fills that place immediately, as when your veſſel of *Wine* is emptied, it is filled with *Ayr*, *ne detur vacuum in natura*, leſt there ſhould be a *vacuity*, which Nature alwayes abhorreth; even ſo, when the *Devil* is expelled, and our hearts cleanſed, as the Apoſtle ſaith, from all filthineſs, both of Fleſh and Spirit, then *virtues* will begin to ſpring in us, and our ſouls ſhall be

The firſt beginning of a Chriſtian. 1 John 3. 8.

The ſecond beginning of a Chriſtian.

The third beginning of a Chriſtian.

Theſe three wayes are the faireſt wayes for us to aſſure our ſelves of our Chriſtianity.

2 Cor. 7. 1.

be fitted, as clean veſſels, to receive the graces of Gods holy Spirit, which, as the Wiſe man ſaith, *flieth from deceit, and dwelleth not in the body that is ſubject unto ſin.*

Sap. 1. 4. & 5.

And therefore, touching this *expulſion* of Satan and his *ſuggeſtions*, which is the firſt ſtep to God, and the ſum and ſubſtance of my Text, I ſhall deſire you to obſerve theſe three things.

The diviſion of the Text.

1. The Matter,
2. The Form,
3. The Privation,

1. The Matter, or the ſum and ſubſtance of the work, which is the ejection, or caſting out of Devils: *hoc genus ejicitur.*

2. The Form, Manner or Means, by which they are caſt out, and that is, *Prayer and Faſting*, and no ways elſe; for, *non ejicitur niſi per orationem & jejunium*, they go not out by any other means then by Prayer and Faſting.

3. The Privation, which followeth their ejection and caſting out, and is as the Philoſopher teacheth, *abſentia prioris formæ cum aptitudine materiæ ad aliam recipiendam*, the abſcence of the *former conditions* that we had, with an aptitude or fitneſs of our ſouls to receive far *better qualities*; and therefore muſt conſiſt,

Ariſtot. *Metaphyſ.* l 5. c. 22.

1. In *Remotione mali*, the removal and rooting out of all evil thoughts, words, and deeds.
2. The *Reception* and planting in our hearts all good virtues and graces of Gods ſpirit.

Or, if you pleaſe, you may conſider in theſe words;

1. *Actus.* 1. The *Act*, which is the *caſting out of Devils.*

2. *Modus.* 2. The *Means*, by which we caſt them out, which are *Prayers* and *Faſting.*

3. *Effectus.* 3. The *Effect* or Succeſſe, which followeth their caſting or going out, and it is a freedom from Satans tyrannie, and a bleſſed fruition of liberty, to be prepared to receive Gods holy Spirit, and his graces, for the ſaving of our ſouls.

And touching the firſt point, which is, the *caſting out of theſe*

theſe Devils, I ſhall deſire you to conſider with me theſe three things;

That is,
1. The *Ingredients*,
2. Their *Ingreſſion*,
3. Their *Ejection*,

1. The *Ingredients*, or thoſe that enter into a man to take poſſeſſion of his heart and Soul, are ſaid to be, *genus Demoniorum*, a kind of Devils: and δαίμων, which is, *quaſi* δαήμων, *ſciens*, a word derived of δαῶ, *ſcio, diſco*, ſignifieth a knowing-One, whomſoever he be; whether he be from heaven, or from the earth, or from hell. 1. Of the Ingredients.

But uſe and cuſtom hath moſt commonly appropriated this word δαίμων to the worſer kind of *knowing ones*, or intellectual creatures, that is, the *infernal Angels*, which we call Devils: or elſe the moſt *wicked men*, which are termed *Devils incarnate*, and which oftentimes do ſhew themſelves Devils indeed; and to do as much miſchief as the Devils of hell; as, the *experience* we have had of the cruelty and wickedneſs of our late Rebels, doth ſufficiently teſtify unto us.

Whereby you may perceive that there are two ſpecial kinds of Devils.

1. The Devils *of Hell*, which are Spirits, or *ſpiritual Devils*.
2. The Devils of *the Earth*, which are Men, or *carnal Devils*: and of theſe, I ſhall treat laſt.

That there are two kinds of Devils.

And for the firſt kind of Devils, I ſhall only ſpeak of theſe three things.

Of the firſt kind of Devils. Conſider three things.

1. Their *Nature*,
2. Their *Names*,
3. Their *Number*,

And

1. Touching their *Nature*, you are, 1. Of the nature of the Devils.

1. To

1. Observation.
Danæus Isagog. c. 4. de Angelis.
Damasc. l. 2. de Orthodoxa Fide.
Zanchius de operibus Dei. l. 2. c. 2.

1. To understand, that they are not Chimera's of apprehensions, but true real substances: for though some men deny them to be any substances, but rather to be *motus & ὁρμὰς*, certain inward motions, and vehement passions of the mind, whereby men are tossed and caried away to do this or that thing, as *Danæus* writeth; yet not only the most ancient Fathers, as *Damascen*, *Tertullian*, and others; and so the School-Divines, as *Thomas* and the rest of them; and so likewise all the modern Writers (as *Zanchius* doth, by eight special Reasons prove them to be *ὑφεστάμενα*: *i. e.* things really existing;) but also the most sacred Scripture, which is *veritatis omnis regula*, the rule of all truth, doth most plainly shew unto us, that they are *οὐσίαι*, Substances; for they are said to talk with Christ, to obey Christ, to enter into the Swine, to be tormented, to be tied in chains, to reside in everlasting darkness and the like; *Quæ omnia, in ea quæ sunt meræ spectra, & res imaginariæ, non competunt*; all which things cannot be said of those things that are but meer phantasms, and bare imaginarie things; but of things onely, which are *verè οὐσίαι*, truly real things indeed, saith *Lambertus Danæus*, *quò supra*.

2. Observation.
Apud Casman. Angelograph. part 1. c. 4.
Lactant. Instit. l. 2. c. 15.
Two Reasons to prove they have bodies.

2. You are to note, that as they are Substances, and not Apprehensions onely, as the *Sadduces*, and some other Hereticks thought; so they be spiritual substances, and not compounded of matter and form, as *Symonius*, and *Swingerus* in his Æthick Tables, and divers others do affirm; for, though *Origen* in his second Book, *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, and *Tertullian* in his Book, *de carne Christi*; and *Lactantius*, and *Rupertus Tuitiensis*, and others do affirm, that they have a body, by which they do subsist, though the same be more subtile and purer then the bodies of all other inferiour subjects: and for proof thereof, they do render a double reason.

1. Reason.
Gen. 6.
Clem. Alext Strom. l 3.

1. For that they had access unto the Daughters of men, as *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, and others do expound that place of *Genesis*; but this they could not do, unless they had some bodies; and therefore they are not pure spirits.

2. Reason.

2. For that they are tormented, and to be punished in a corporal

corporeal fire; as S. *Auguſtine*, and others do affirm: but a meer ſpiritual ſubſtance cannot be tormented by any corporeal thing: therefore they muſt needs ſubſiſt of ſome corporeal matter or ſubſtance.

That the Devils are altogether immaterial.

Yet the evidence is ſo plain, that they are altogether immaterial and pure ſpirits, *& ab omni materia liberi*, without any concretion of matter or bodies, as that indeed, it cannot be contradicted, if we look into the reaſons of the Fathers, which they produce out of the eighth Chapter of S. *Luke*, and the eighth Chapter of S. *Matthew*, and the 103. *Pſalm*, and the ſixth Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*; as of *Dionyſius* in his Book *de Divinis Nominibus*, cap. 4. *Ignatius* in his Epiſtle unto the *Trallians*; *Nazianzen* in his ſecond Oration, *de Theologia*: *Epiphanius* in the 26. Hereſie: S. *Chryſoſtom* in his 22. Homily upon *Geneſis*: *Theodoret* in his Book *de Divinis Decretis*: *Greg. Nyſſ.* in his Book of the life of *Moſes*, *Baſilius Magnus*, *Fulgentius*, and the Councilof *Lateran* under *Innocentius* the Third, and divers others, both ancient & modern Writers.

1. Reaſon anſwered.

Aug. de Civit. l. 15. c. 22. Chryſoſt. Hom. 22. in Gen. Cyril. l. 9. adverſ. Julian. Suid. in vocabulo Seth.

And therefore, to the firſt Reaſon, we anſwer with Saint *Auguſtine*, S. *Chryſoſtom*, S. *Cyril*, and *Suidas*, that by the *Sons of God*, we are not to underſtand the Angels, but the Poſterity of *Seth*: For, as by the *Daughters of men*, we underſtand by men, that carnal crue of wicked tyrants, which were the poſterity of *Cain*, and were both worldly minded, and fleſhly given, and ſo wholly negligent of Gods ſervice, as you may ſee it in many places of the *Pſalms*: Even ſo, by the *Sons of God*, we ought to underſtand the godly ſeed of *Seth* that deſpiſed the world, and called upon the name of the Lord, and at length began to grow cold in the ſervice of God, and to follow after the luſts of the fleſh, and the vanities of this world, and theſe were called the *Sons of God*, as all the godly are: and,

2. Reaſon anſwered.

To the ſecond Reaſon we anſwer, that as the human ſouls be pure ſpirits, and yet are tormented in a corporeal fire, as it appeareth by the ſoul of *Dives*, that confeſſeth it ſelf to be tormented in that flame, when his body was buried in the earth: even ſo theſe infernal Spirits that have no bodies, but are altogether immaterial, may, by the omnipotent power of

the Almighty God, be perpetually punished and tormented with a corporeal fire; as S. *Hierom* and others have most plainly and largely declared.

Vide Greenwood in a Sermon, entituled, *Tormenting Tophet.*

3. You are to observe, that, as they are spiritual substances, immaterial, and without any kind of bodies; so we must understand that they were all created good, Angels in heaven, and not Devils in hell; God never made such creatures: for, though the *Peripateticks*, and the *Priscillianists*, that were a kind of Hereticks, did imagine, that they were eternal Evils, or Devils from all eternity, as *Zanchius* noteth, because, as they alledge, there is no sin in heaven; and he that once goeth to heaven, cannot sin when he is there, being as it were ravished with the Beatifical Vision, and the love of the divine goodness: and therefore say they, if they had been made in heaven, they could not have fallen away from God;

3. Observation.

Zanchius de Operibus Dei. l. 2, c 5.

Whereupon *Manichæus* taught, that there were two Gods from all eternity; the one good, and the Author of all goodness, and the Creator of all the things that are good; the other evil, and the doer of all wickedness, and the maker of all the things that are evil; and this most heretical Opinion, saith *Nicephorus*, continued almost 300. years, before it could be rooted out; Yet not only this Opinion hath been exploded and condemned for a most wicked heresie, but also the very reason and foundation of their Opinion is so weak, that it may be very easily answered.

Damæus Isogog. c 6. Clem. Recog. l. 3. Nicephor. l. 5. c. 31.

For, although now, the inhabitants of heaven cannot sin, and those celestial Citizens shall never be banished from their mansions, because they are now confirmed by grace, and supported by Gods Spirit, *ne à veritate voluntatem averterent*, lest they should turn their wills and minds from the truth; as S. *Augustine* speaketh, yet, *Non fuit sic ab initio*, it was not so from the beginning; for, if God had made them immutably good, he had made them Gods, and not Angels: because it is the priviledge and property of God alone, to be immutably good; as the Prophet sheweth, *Ego Deus, & non mutor*, I am the Lord, and I change not, as if he were not a God, if he had the possibility to change; or that therefore he is God, because

Aug. de Civi.. Dei, l. 12. c. 9.

It is the property of God alone, to be immutably good. Malach. 3.6.

because he cannot possibly change: and so Saint *James* setteth down this for an incommunicable property of God, to be unvariable or unchangeable, and without any shadow of turning. James 1.

And therefore as man in Paradise was created, *Omnino ad imaginem Dei*, altogether according to Gods own Image; and yet was left in the counsel of his own mind, either to stand or fall, to continue happy, or to become most miserable; even so the Devils, though they were created in Heaven, which was their Paradise, and were made likewise good; yet they had, *potestatem cadendi*, a power either to stand, if they were so pleased, or to fall if they would not stand: And so the good Angels too; they were *mutabiles natura*, changeable if they would, and they might have fallen if they pleased; but because they chose to stand in the time of their trial, they are now made, *immutabiles gratia*, unchangeable through the grace and favour of God, for their faithfulness and submission to his divine order, as *Isidorus* speaketh. *Isidorus de Summo bono, l. 1. c. 12.*

And as the falshood of their eternal impietie is sufficiently proved, so the truth of the contrary Position may be as sufficiently confirmed by the word of Truth; for they are the creatures of God; and therefore they must needs be good by their creation; for when God had finished all his works, he looked upon them and considered all, and every thing that he had made, *Et ecce erant valde bona*, and behold they were all exceeding good; and therefore the very Devils were all, *Creatione boni, sed Depravatione mali*, Good Angels by their creation, but wicked Devils by depravation, which they contracted, *Non natura creata*, not from that nature which God created, but from their own proper malice; which they had, not from God, but was bred within themselves. *Damasc. Isagog. c. 19.*

And therefore not only the Apostle saith, That *they kept not their first estate*: But our Saviour Christ himself affirmeth, *Quod non steterunt in veritate*, That they stood not, or remained in the truth; whereby it is most apparent, that when they were created, they were in the truth; or otherwise, *Quomodo dici potest, eum non stetisse ubi nunquam fuit?* faith learned *Zanchius de operibus Dei. l. 3. c. 2.*

learned *Zanchius*: How can the Devil be ſaid not to have ſtood there, where he never hath been? And ſo Saint *Auguſtine* likewiſe doth moſt excellently declare this truth, and confirm the ſame againſt *Manichæus*, with unanſwerable Arguments, *l.* 11. *c.* 20. *De Geneſi ad literam, & de Civit. Dei l.* 12. *c.* 1, 2, 3. *&* *de vera Religione c.* 13. But then,

Auguſt. Paſſim.

Obſervat. 4. 4. You are to conſider, that ſeeing they were created good, the queſtion will be, How, or by what ſin, they fell, and became ſo bad? And this Queſtion is propounded by *Theodoret*, *Quam ob cauſam è Cœlo Diabolus decidit?* Why or what cauſe moved the Devil, that was a glorious Angel in the ſight of God, to fall away from God, and thereby to throw himſelf and his adherents unto the bottomleſs pit; and there, inſtead of that eternal happineſs which he haſt loſt, to be tormented with fire and brimſtone in everlaſting darkneſs for evermore?

Theodor. q. 6. *in Geneſ.*

To which Queſtion *Theodoret* ſaith, That it was the fond conceit of ſome fooliſh fellows, to ſay, that Satan was therefore thruſt out of Heaven, becauſe he refuſed to adore and worſhip *Adam*, whom God would have him to reverence, becauſe he had made *Adam* in his own Image: But this *Theodoret* proveth to be falſe, becauſe the Devils fell before *Adam* was made; who was therefore made, as ſome Divines write, to ſupply the room of the relapſed Angels.

And *Zanchius* writeth, That *Auguſtinus Steuchus*, in his eighth book and thirty eighth chapter *de per. Philoſ.* rehearſeth three other Opinions about the fall and the ſin of the Devil.

Zanch. de operibus Dei, de lapſu Angelorum.

Three Opinions about the firſt ſin of Satan.

1. Opinion is of *Juſtin Martyr*, in his Apology for the Chriſtians: and of *Clemens Alexandrinus l.* 3. *Stromat.* and of *Severus Sulpitius l.* 1. *de ſacra Hiſtoria*: and of *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, and many more of the firſt ancient Fathers that, (upon the ſixth Chapter of *Geneſis*, where it is ſaid, That *the Sons of God*, or the Angels of God, as St. *Ambroſe* reads it: or *Filii Elohim*, as the *Hebrew* hath it, which

2. Opinion,

Aquila

Aquila tranſlateth, *Filii Deorum*, the Sons of the Gods, or *Filii potentum*, the Sons of the mighty powerful Ones, as *Symmachus* reads it; or *Filii Magnatum*, the Sons of the great Ones, and noble Ones, as the *Chaldee*-Paraphraſt hath it; or *Filii Principum*, the Sons of the chief Princes, as *Pagninus* reads it (beſt in my mind) *ſaw the daughters of men, that they were fair, and took them wives of all that they liked*) do expound the ſame of the Angels, which leaving their care of theſe inferiour things, which God had committed to their charge, *To preſerve us*, as the Pſalmiſt ſpeaketh, *in all our wayes, that we daſh not our foot againſt a ſtone*, were overcome with the love of thoſe fair women; of whoſe looks the Poet ſaith, they were

——— amula lumina Stellis,
Lumina quæ poſſunt ſollicitare Deos.

Eyes emulating Stars in light,
Enticing Gods at the firſt ſight.

And ſo they fell into baſe luſting after theſe beautiful creatures, even as we ſee many men do ſo now adayes; becauſe, as the Poet ſaith,

Ludit amor ſenſus, oculos perſtringit, & aufert
Libertatem animi, mira nos faſcinat arte:

How the inordinate love of women bewitcheth us.

This unlawful love doth betray our ſenſes, ſhuts our eyes, and takes away the liberty of our minds, and doth wonderfully bewitch our ſouls; ſo far, that he ſaith,

Credo aliquis Dæmon, ſubiens præcordia, flammam
Concitat, & ruptam tollit de cardine mentem:

He believes ſome Devils do kindle theſe flames, and take away our ſenſes from us.

And

And therefore the foreſaid Fathers do conclude, that the firſt ſin of Satan, and his fellow-Devils, was carnal Luſt and Concupiſcence, which is one of the three things, which we profeſs in our Baptiſm, that we will forſake.

Tertullian's reaſon for the ſin of the Angels to laſcivious luſt.

Whereupon *Tertullian* ſaith, That for this cauſe, the Apoſtle commanded the Women *to be covered in the Church*, or, as the original hath it, ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους, To have ſome power over their heads, becauſe of the Angels, that is, leſt the Angels, that are to aſſiſt them in their devotion, and to carry up their prayers and deſires to Heaven, ſhould be tempted and inticed to luſt after them.

1 Cor. 11. 10.

And truly I think with *Tertullian*, it were well that the Women ſhould be covered, though not becauſe of the heavenly Angels, yet becauſe of laſcivious men, whoſe wanton eyes do often carry away their thoughts from their heavenly duties to gaze upon their fading vanities: For, touching the heavenly Angels we may find in *Tertullian's* reaſon a double abſurdity.

That there is double miſtake in *Tertullians* reaſon.

1. Error.

1. For that now the heavenly Angels are ſo confirmed in good, partly by the extrinſical aſſiſtance and providence of Almighty God, and partly by the bleſſed Viſion and fruition of the divine Eſſence, as that they cannot do any thing, nor will any thing, contrary to the Will of God, as both *Iſidorus*, and Saint *Auguſtine* do moſt fully and excellently declare.

Iſidorus l. 1. c. 10. & Aug. de fide ad petrum c. 3.

2. Error.

2. For that a vail or covering cannot be ſufficient to keep any thing from the ſight of a Spirit, who doth ſo perfectly penetrate into all inferiour objects, as that he knoweth them, *quantum cognoſcibilia ſunt*, ſo far as they are knowable.

And therefore touching this firſt opinion of their fall and ſin, as this Inference is inſufficient, ſo the foundation of it is not firm; and I will not ſay with *Zanchius*, that this opinion is, *nimis ſtulta*; and the Authors of it, *nimis ſtupidi*, as *Theodoret* in his forty ſeventh Queſtion upon *Geneſis*; becauſe that

Zanch. de operibus Dei l. 4. c. 2.

ſhould

ſhould be, *ſermo nimis durus*, too rigorous a cenſure upon thoſe worthy men that held it: But, I ſay, they were miſtaken in a double reſpect.

The double reaſon againſt the error of this firſt opinion.

1. Becauſe that there is no mention in the Scripture of this ſin, of carnal Concupiſcence, or fleſhly Luſts, until almoſt a thouſand years after the Creation of the World; but it is moſt certain, that there were many other ſins, both of the Angels and Men, long before this ſin: For the ſcripture teacheth us, ſaith Saint *Chryſoſtome*, that before *Adam* was formed the Devil fell away from his dignity: And the Wiſe man ſaith, That *by the envy of the devil, death entred into the world*: Therefore he ſinned before *Adam* ſinned; for otherwiſe, if he fell not before man was made, how could he, remaining in ſo great a dignity in Heaven, envy man here on Earth? It is not likely, but it is againſt all reaſon to think, that an Angel incorporeal, placed in the height of glory, and in the ſight of God, ſhould envy man, that bare a body of earth about him, and lived here on earth; but he being caſt down from Heaven, and to be chained in extream ignominy, and ſeeing man in ſuch great dignity, then his malice, ſaith, Saint *Chryſoſtome*, *Non potuit non graviter ferre aliorum fœlicitatem*, could not endure the ſight of others happineſs without envy. *Reaſon* 1.

2. Becauſe that the Lord God himſelf ſaith, *My Spirit ſhall not alwayes ſtrive with man, for that he is but fleſh*, yet his dayes ſhall be an hundred and twenty years: *At natura incorporea carnes non habet*, But the Spirits have no fleſh, neither have the Angels a life defined or determined by time, ſeeing they are immortal, ſaith *Theodoret*. *Reaſon* 2. Gen. 6. 3. *Theodoret q.* 47. *in Gen.*

Therefore the ſin of theſe foul Spirits could not be any carnal Luſt.

2. Opinion is of them which ſay, That the firſt ſin of Satan was Pride, according to that of *Syracides*, *Initium omnis peccati eſt ſuperbia*, Pride is the beginning of ſin; and the beginning of pride is to depart from God, when the heart turneth away from his Maker: Wherepon Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, 2. Opinion of their fall. Eccleſ. 10. 13. That pride cauſed them to fall.

Aug. in vet. Test. *Chryſoſtome in Iſai. ad hom. 3.* ſaith, That the Devil, *elatione inflatus*, puffed up with pride, would needs be counted, and ſo taken, for God: And ſo Saint *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, That Satan, *Per ſuperbiam factus eſt Diabolus, qui antea Diabolus non erat*, by his pride was made a Devil, which before he became proud was no Devil: A good Leſſon for proud fantaſtical men to think on, what their pride will bring them to, which brought the Angels of Heaven to be Devils in Hell.

Hierom in c. 18. Ezek, Ambroſ. in Pſal. 118. Ser. 3. Nazian. Orat. 1. de pace. Fulgent. ad Monimum l. 10. And this was the opinion of St. *Hierom*, and of St. *Ambroſe*, and of St. *Nazianzen*, *Fulgentius*, *Athanaſius*, *Theodoret*, and many more.

And this their opinion may be confirmed both out of the Old and New Teſtament: For,

Eſay 14. 13. & 14. 1. Reaſon to prove pride to be their ſin. Job 41. 34. Ezek. 28. 2. & 14. 15.

1. In the old Teſtament it is ſaid, *Cogitavit apud ſemetipſum*, He thought with himſelf to exalt his throne *above the ſtars of God*, and ſaid, *I will aſcend above the height of the clouds, and I will be like the moſt High*: The like whereof we find in *Job*, under the name of the *Leviathan*, who is ſaid to be *the king over all the children of pride*: And the very like in *Ezekiel*, under the title of the Prince of *Tyrus*, whoſe heart was lifted up, and he ſaid, *I am a god*, and *I ſit in the ſeat of God*; and the Prophet, in the perſon of God, ſaith of him, *Thou art the annointed Cherub that covereth; and I have ſet thee ſo; thou waſt upon the holy mountain of God, thou haſt walked up and down in the midſt of the ſtones of fire, and thou waſt perfect in thy wayes from the day that thou waſt created, until iniquity was found in thee*: For though I am not ignorant, that the place of *Eſay* is literally to be underſtood of the King of *Babylon*, and that of *Job* of the Whale, and the other place of *Ezekiel* is ſpoken of the King of *Tyrus*; yet this can be no hinderance, but that myſtically theſe places may ſignifie the Devil, who is the head, and the grand Captain of all the children of pride, as *Rupertus Tuitienſis* doth moſt excellently declare.

Rupertus de victoria verbi Dei. 2. Reaſon to prove it. Luke 10. 18.

2. The ſame may be proved out of the new Teſtament, where our bleſſed Saviour, for the repreſsing of this deteſtable ſin of pride, alledgeth the fall of Satan, ſaying, *I beheld Satan,*

Satan, as lightning, fall from heaven: and therefore take heed of being proud that the foul Spirits are ſubject unto you, leſt you fall likewiſe, even as he did: And ſo Saint *Paul* ſheweth, That he which *is puffed up with pride, falleth into the ſnare, and judgment, or condemnation of the devil*, that for his pride was adjudged and condemned to hell: And let all proud Gallants take heed of the like judgment and condemnation. 1 Tim. 3. 6.

3. Opinion is of them which ſay, That the firſt ſin of the Devil was Envy, when he ſaw man, that was formed of the duſt of the earth, to be made in the Image of God: and to confirm the ſame, they alledge *Athenagoras, & Petrus Alexandrinus*, and eſpecially that place in the Book of *Wiſdom*, where the Wiſe man ſaith, That, *Per invidiam Diaboli, mors intravit in mundum*, through the envy of the Devil death came into the world: But this, ſaith *Zanchius*, croſſeth not the truth of the former opinion, but may well agree with it, and proceed from his pride; ſeeing, as *Aquinas* ſaith, Envy is a branch of pride, *Quando bonum inordinatè fugit, invidia*, When through envy it ſcorneth, and inordinately flieth from that which is good: So the Angel firſt puffed up with Pride, *Nolnit Deo ſubjici*, refuſed to ſubmit himſelf to God, and to obey his Rule and Command, and then he was filled with envy againſt man, ſaith *Zanchy*. 3. Opinion of their fall. Sap. 2. 24. *Thom* 12. *q.* 84. *ar.* 10. & 22. *q.* 77. *art.* 5. *Zanch. l.* 4 *c.* 2.

And ſo it was the envy of the Devil that brought death and damnation to all men; and his pride firſt begat his envy, and wrought his overthrow, and brought his damnation upon himſelf, and upon all the children of pride.

And therefore, as we ought to take heed of pride, which is the ſin of the Devil, and a moſt devilliſh ſin, that brings neither pleaſure nor profit, but ſcorn and deſtruction to his owner: ſo we ought to beware of envy, which is nothing worth, but woundeth the envious man more then him that is envied; As, *Indivia Siculi non invenere tyranni Tormentum majus*, the *Sicilian* Tyrants never found a greater torment then their own envy; which, like *Prometheus* Vulture, gnawed their What a devilliſh ſin is envy

wretched ſouls night and day, whenſoever they ſaw, or thought upon the proſperity of another; as it vexed the Devil to the very Soul, to ſee *Adam* in Paradiſe, and himſelf thruſt out of Heaven.

Yet herein Envy is very juſt, becauſe, as the Poet ſaith,

Sit licet injuſtus livor, nil juſtius illo eſt:
Namque premens alios, opprimit antè patrem.

It kills his owner before it hurts another; for as the Ruſt eateth up the Iron, *ſic invidia quem infecit animum, conſumit*; ſo envy waſteth and conſumeth, the very heart and Soul that it poſſeſſeth, ſaith Saint *Baſil.*

A ſtory ſhewing the true nature of Envie.

And for a fuller expreſſion of the nature and benefit of *Envie*, the Poets faign, that when *Mercury* the meſſenger of the Gods, was ſent of their errand here on Earth, he lodged one night in a *Covetous* mans houſe; and the next night in an *Envious* mans houſe, his next neighbour: and for his kind entertainment he told them, whatſoever the firſt deſired, he ſhould have it, and the other ſhould have it double; the *Covetous* man preſently bad his neighbour ask what he would, and the *Envious* man, conſidering, that now, if he asked a houſe, his neighbour ſhould have two; if he demanded a thouſand pound, his covetous neighbour ſhould have two thouſand: therefore not knowing how otherwiſe to be even with him, he deſired that one of his own eys might be plucked out, that his neighbour might loſe both his eys. And ſuch is the nature of Envy, I had rather beg my bread then poſſeſs it.

But ſeeing it is the moſt *common received opinion* of all Divines, that the firſt ſin of Satan that made him a Devil was *his Pride*, it will not be amiſs a little to diſcuſſe the particular object and cauſe that produced forth his *Pride*, and by his Pride his *Rebellion* and oppoſition againſt God, which alwaies do proceed and ſpring from the *proud Spirits*, as I am ſure it did from our late Rebells.

What was Satans pride.

Touching which I find ſeveral judgments: For,

1. Saint

1. Saint *Auguſtine* in his fourty ninth Tractate upon Saint *John*, and Saint *Cyril* in his Dialogues, *de Adoratione in Spiritu*, do think it to be an aſſuming of *a Deity* unto himſelf, *& imaginando ea, quæ ſupra naturam ejus erant, eſſe ſua*, and imagining thoſe things, which were *above his Nature*, and beyond his reach, to be *his owne*, and of his owne proper power: but I think, it cannot be, that the Devils ſhou'd deſire an *abſolute equality* with God in his Eſſence, and in his infinite Attributes: for then they muſt think it abſolutely poſſible for them, to have an abſolute equality with God; but in regard of their knowledg, they knew this to be *impoſſible*: and then alſo they muſt be changed in Nature, which likewiſe could not poſſibly be; becauſe the *eſſential Attributes* of God cannot be agreeable or *communicable* to any Angel, or to any *created Eſſence*, but to him only who is the true God by nature. And therefore,

1. Opinion.

The opinion rejected.

2. I find Saint *Auguſtine* expounding this his deſire of equality with God, to be a deſire of *freedom*, to be exempted from *all ſervice* and ſubjection unto their maker; and ſo Saint *Gregory*, and *Anſelm*, do affirm, their particular Pride to have conſiſted in refuſing to be ſubject unto their Creator; which is nothing els, but an abſolute rebellion, and diſobedience againſt their governour.

2. Opinion. Aug. *de Civitate Dei l.* 11. *c.* 3. Greg. *Moral. in* Job. *l.* 34. *c.* 13. Anſelm *de Lapſu Diab.*

But I like well of *Nazianzens* Expoſition upon the words of *Eſay*, that Satan would have extolled himſelf *above the clouds of the word of God*, or rather the word God, that is, above the *eternal Son of God*, Incarnate, and as it were, cloathed with the Clouds of our humanity: and ſo his pride was,

Wherein the Devils pride conſiſted. Amb. Cath. *in Libello de gloria Angelorum & lapſu malorum.* Vigner. *Inſtitut. l.* 3. *&* 5. Bern *in Cant. Serm.* 17.

1. In a deſire of an equality with God, by an *hypoſtatical Union* betwixt the Angellical Nature and the perſon of God; ſuch as is in the *perſon of Chriſt*, betwixt his Manhood and his God-head; as *Ambroſius Catharinus*, *Vignerius*, and Saint *Bernard*, do affirm.

2. In rebelling, oppoſing, and contradicting the truth of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, that God ſhould love mankind ſo well, as *hypoſtatically* to unite unto himſelf the nature of man,

Eſpecially in withſtanding the decree of Chriſt his Incarnation.

which he had denied unto the Angels. And to this I think the Apoſtle ſeems to ayme, when he ſaith, that Chriſt, *non aſſumpſit angelos*, took not upon him the nature of Angels, but he took the *ſeed of Abraham*; for which cauſe he is ſtiled φιλάνθρωπος, a lover of Mankind, as where the Apoſtle ſaith, *cum apparuit* φιλανθρωπία τοῦ θεοῦ. But we never read that he is termed φιλαγγελος in all the Scriptures. And therefore the *Devil*, and all the wicked Angels, that were his adherents, would not allow of this *decree* of God, nor obey that counſel and command of God, when he bringeth in the firſt begotten into the world, *let all the Angels of God worſhip him*, which they, in the height of their pride *utterly diſdained*, and refuſed to do; but did then and ever ſince labour and ſeek, with all their might, and by all means to hinder the ſame to be done; and being done, to evacuate the benefit and fruit thereof, by hindering us men to believe it, and to be thankful for it.

Heb.

Heb. 1. 6.

How the Devil alwaies laboured to hinder the Incarnation of Chriſt and to evacuate the benefits thereof.

For ſo,

1. Way.

1. By his ſubtletie he ſought to put *Adam* out of all *favour* with God, to the end that this Union of mans nature with God, might be wholly fruſtrated, becauſe he knew God was of pure eys, and could not endure rebellion and *diſobedience* to his commands; and therefore, thought he, if I can ſeduce *Adam*. to eat the forbidden fruit, I ſhall evacuate that *deſign* of God and break that *Gordian* knot all to pieces.

And when he ſaw, that this Plot could not prevail, to *annihilate* the decree of God to love and to unite man unto himſelf, but that the wiſedom and goodneſs of God found out a way to verifie that ſaying, *qui ſtruit inſidias aliis, ſibi damna dat ipſe*, he that digs a Pit for another ſhall fall into it himſelf, when God ſaid, that *the ſeed of the woman*, which Satan had ſeduced, *ſhould break the Serpents head*, and ſo bring more damage to the Devil, then to either Man or Woman: then,

Gen. 3.

2. Way.

2. He inticed *Cain* to kill his owne Brother *Abel*, ſtill to provoke God againſt Man, and to hinder this Union betwixt God and Man: and when he ſaw that God in mercy had granted *another ſeed* by the birth of *Seth*, then he thought to work

work more wiſely, and more generally to corrupt the whole World, and to make the *Sons of God* whom he loved, to run a Whoring after the Daughters of thoſe men whom he hated; And ſeeing this *device*, that was ſo deviliſh, yet would not do the *deed* that he deſired, but that *Noah* found favour in the ſight of God, to preſerve the *generation* of mankind; and that God which is the God of truth, would not alter the thing that is gon out of his mouth; Then, 3. Way.

3. He puts off the ſhape of the Serpent, and leaves to play the Fox, and putteth on the Lions skin, and like a Lion indeed he ſeeks by his cruelty at ſundry times and in divers manners, to deſtroy that *bleſſed ſeed* from whence Chriſt, the God and Man, ſhould ſpring. As,

1. When he ſtirred up and moved wicked *Pharaoh*, his Exod.
firſt-born Tyrant, to kill *all the male children of the Iſraelites* from whom God had promiſed unto *Abraham*, the bleſſed ſeed ſhould ſpring. And then raiſed up proud *Haman* to root out all the *Jews*, and the whole off-ſpring of *David*, to whom God had ſworn, and made a faithful Oath, that the *Meſſias* ſhould come out of his Loyns; and after that cauſed *Antiochus*, (whoſe ſirname, *Epiphanes*, ſignified *Illuſtrious*, but his deeds were moſt odious) to perſecute *all the Jews* and to butcher the beſt of them, that ſo he might hinder *the birth* of that bleſſed Seed, and cruſh the Chickin while it was in the ſhell; And when all this his *ſubtletie* and *cruelty*, could not ſerve the turn, but that Chriſt was *born* indeed, and had *hypoſtatically* united our fleſh unto his deity; Then, 4. Way.

4. He playes the Devil indeed, and ſtirreth up *Herod* to kill all the Children that were in *Bethlehem*, and in all the Coaſts thereof, that ſo by that means, he might kill *Chriſt*; and when he ſeeth he could not kill him, he laboureth to corrupt him, to make him to forſake his God, as he had done; and to throw himſelf down from the Pinnacle, and to break his neck; or to fall down and worſhip him: for he knew, this, if he could effect it, would unty the knot, and hinder the progreſs of Gods purpoſe.

But as holy *Job* affirmeth, *non eſt poteſtas quæ comparetur ei*, Job. 41. 2.

and

Job 24. 2. and saith, to God, *I know that thou canst do every thing*, and that no thought of thine can be hindred, *Quia non est consilium contra Dominum*, because no counsel can prevail against the Lord; therefore his counsel did stand, and his will is done,

John 1. 14. and *the Word is made flesh, and we saw his glory as the glory of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.*

And yet for all this, though he seeth the Promise of God fulfilled, and his truth accomplished, and God united to our nature, he still persisteth in his pride, and prosecuteth his malice against man, to frustrate and oppose the will of God. And though Christ, by his death, which he brought him to, hath overcome death, and led captivity captive; yet doth he never leave to hinder men to reap the benefit of Gods favour, and the fruits of the death and passion of Jesus Christ, but fostering still his pride and rebellion against God, and his malice against man, he entereth into the hearts, and possesseth the very souls of all wicked men: so that he maketh some of them to become meer Atheists, scarce to believe that there is a God; and many more to deny the mysterie of Christs Incarnation, as do the Jews and Turks to this very day: and others he bewitcheth to believe most damnable errors, as with that Dog *Servetus*, to deny the humanity of our Saviour Christ; and others to blaspheme against his Deity, as that accursed *Arius* and his followers: and so he still laboureth to hinder this truth to be believed at all, or at least, not to be believed in that manner as it should be. And all this you may more amply see in *Rupertus Tuitiensis*, *de victoria Verbi Dei*, and in *Zanchius de Operibus Dei*, *& de peccato Angelorum.*

Zanchius de Operibus Dei, l. 4. c. 2.

And this consideration of the Pride and Rebellion of the Devil against God, and his implacable malice against man, should teach us all to take special care to beware of him; and to pray to God to bless us from him, and not to have him so often as we have him in our mouths, nor especially in our hearts.

So you have seen, that although by nature the Devils were good, and so created good by God; yet by their pride, and continual

continual rebellion againſt God, they made themſelves Devils, and the Authors of all evil for evermore.

Yet, leſt we ſhould erre about their nature, as they are now, *in ſtatu corrupto*, corrupted by their own wickedneſs, we are to conſider theſe two points.

Two points to be conſidered about the nature of the Devils.

1. That there are many things, that in themſelves, are good in them.

2. That all thoſe good things are perverted and corrupted by them to a perverſe and wicked end: For,

1. Point.

1. You muſt underſtand, that by their fall, they have not loſt all thoſe endowments and excellencies which God had given them in their creation; and whatſoever they do retain, which they have had from God, the ſame is, and muſt needs be good: but their natural ſubſtance, and their natural qualities, as their knowledge, their underſtanding, wiſdom, agility, inviſibility, immortality, ſtrength, and the like, are all given them by God, and they are the works of God; and theſe in themſelves ſimply conſidered, muſt needs be good; becauſe all that God made were, and ſtill are, exceeding good.

That men ſhould not think it enough to have ſome good things in them, but endeavour to be good in all things.

And therefore let not wicked men, oppreſſors, Church-robbers, Adulterers, proud perſons, and the like, think well of themſelves, becauſe they have ſome good things in them: as a good wit, great learning, fair ſpeeches, ſome charity; and it may be ſome juſtice, and the like: for ſo the Devils have ſome good things in them likewiſe; and if thou hadſt no good things in thee, thou wert worſe then the very Devils: But, if thou wouldeſt be deemed a good man, thou muſt be *ex omni parte bonus*, good in every way, or at leaſt endeavouring to be good in all things, ſuch as *Job* and *Zacharias* were, that *walked in all the Commandments of God without reproof.*

2. Point.

2. You muſt note, that there is none of thoſe good things that are in them, but, as wicked Judges abuſe their Authority to pervert Juſtice; and corrupt Lawyers abuſe their knowledg to wreſt the Law; and covetous worldlings do abuſe their wealth and their power to oppreſs the poor: ſo do theſe wicked ſpirits corrupt and abuſe all the good things that are in

in them, by making them means of effecting the greater evils, as by their knowledge and ſubtilty to deceive us, as they deceived *Evah*; by their might and power to torment us, as they tormented *Job*, and thoſe poor poſſeſſed men that we read of in the Goſpel; and by their agility to be every where, in every corner ready to entrap us. And therefore how wary, and how watchfull ſhould we be to eſcape their wiles, and to prevent them; for the more powerfull our enemies are, the more preparation we ought to make againſt them:

But, to the end we may the better ſee how farr, and how many ways they pervert and turn all theſe good things, that God hath given them to work our deſtruction, and to ſhew their rebellion againſt God; let us proceed unto the ſecond point, and ſo conſider the names and titles whereby they are named and made known unto us: becauſe, as the Poet ſaith,

Conveniunt rebus nomina ſæpe ſuis.

The names do often agree with the natures.

2. Of the names and titles of the Devils.

2. Touching their names and titles, you muſt underſtand, that all the names which we find given unto them, are either

In reſpect
1. Of their Nature and being, or
2. Of their Practice and deſire to do miſchief.
3. Of the Forms wherein they appeared.
4. Of their Knowledg and Underſtanding.
5. Of their Might and Power to effect what they intend to do.

1. Reſpect. 1. In reſpect of their Nature, they are ſometimes called ſimply Spirits: as in *Matth.* 4. 1. *Mar.* 1. 12. *Luke* 10, 20. and ſometimes they are called Angels: as in 1 *Cor.* 6. 3. and in 2 *Pet.* 2. 4. But this is rather a name of office than of nature, whereas Ἄγγελος ſignifieth *Nuncius*, a Meſſenger.

2. Reſpect.) 2. In reſpect of their Practice, and deſire to work miſchief: as the ſame is diverſe, ſo in that reſpect they have divers names: As,

1. *Spiritus malus*, an evil Spirit, and the unclean Spirit,

rit, and that not onely becauſe he is κατ' ἐξοχὴν, Evil in himſelf, but alſo endavoureth by all means to make all others evil and unclean. 1 Sam. 1. 16. Matth. 13. 19. and 39. Zach 13. 2.

2. *Adverſarius*, an adverſary: for ſo S. *Peter* ſaith, *Your adverſary the Devil goeth about like a roaring Lion:* and he is ſtiled our adverſary, becauſe he is always againſt us, and is continually *an accuſer of the brethren*, in which reſpect he is likewiſe ſtiled Διάβολος, the Devil, that is, *Calumniator Dei & hominum*, the reviler or ſlanderer both of God and Men. Matth. 12. 43. 1 Pet. 5. 8. Zach. 3. 1.

3. *Spiritus fornicationum*, the ſpirit of Fornications: for ſo the Prophet *Hoſeas* ſaith, The ſpirit of *whoredoms hath cauſed them to erre*; and he is ſo called, not onely becauſe he pricketh our fleſh to carnal and unlawfull luſts and uncleanneſs, but eſpecially, becauſe he inſtigateth all men unto ſpiritual fornication, to run a whoring after ſtrange Gods, to commit idolatry with the Idols of the *Gentiles*, and by their covetouſneſs and greedy hunting after riches and the wealth of this world, which is Idolatry, as the Apoſtle affirmeth, when we make a god of our gold, and neglect the ſervice of the ever-living God. Hoſ. 4. 12.

4. *Spiritus mendacii*, a lying Spirit, and the *Father of lyes*; for ſo he ſaith himſelf, *I will be a lying ſpirit in the mouth of all the Prophets of Ahab:* and our Saviour ſaith, he hath been *a lyer from the beginning*; and he is a lyer, not onely becauſe he doth always uſe to lye, as he did to *Evah*, when he ſaid, *Ye ſhall be like Gods*, and yet made them like Devils, but alſo, becauſe he ſuggeſteth nothing elſe but lyes to every one of us, and perſwadeth us by all means to turn the truth of God into a lye, as S. *Auguſtine* ſheweth. 1 Reg 22. 22. John 8. *Auguſt. contra Jud Pagan. & Arian.* c. 2.

But, though he be a lying Spirit, and the father of lyes, yet this proveth not, but that, as *Maldonate* very accurately ſheweth, the Devil may ſometimes ſpeak a truth: for he ſpake the truth, when he ſaid, *I will be a lying ſpirit in the mouth of all his Prophets*, for ſo he was; And he ſpake the truth, when he alledged the Scriptures to Chriſt in the Deſart; and when he confeſſed Jeſus Chriſt to be the Son of God, even as S. *Peter* did; though, as S. *Auguſtine* well obſerveth, That the Devil ſometimes ſpeaketh truth

ſerveth, Saint *Peter* was commended, and the Devil reproved; becauſe, as the Proverb is, *Non pulchrum eſt laus in ore peccatoris*, I deſire not the praiſe of a lewd and diſſolute fellow; ſo truth loſeth of his luſtre, when it proceeds from a common lyar, whom men do ſuſpect when he ſpeaks the truth: and beſides this, whenſoever the Devil ſpeaketh truth, he alwayes levelleth at an evil end; as when he ſpake the truth of *Ahabs* prophets, it was to deceive them, and to deſtroy *Ahab*: and when he alledged the truth of the Scriptures unto Chriſt, it was to ſee if he could perſwade Chriſt to offend; and when he confeſſed Chriſt to be the Son of God, it was not to perſwade us to believe it, but to make us not to believe it, becauſe the Devil ſpake it.

But alwayes to an evil end.

And therefore whenſoever lyars, or the Father of lyes, do ſpeak the truth, we ſhould take heed of them, and believe the truth, not becauſe they have ſpoken it, but becauſe the Scripture ſaith it, or that we have other far better reaſons to perſwade us to it then their ſaying of it, for that a lyars truth, if there were no other reaſon to believe it, is alwayes to be ſuſpected.

5. *Satanas*, πειράζων, a *Tempter*, becauſe the Devil doth alwayes provoke us unto ſin, and attempteth by all means to bring our ſins unto perfection: But here you muſt obſerve in what ſenſe he is called a Tempter, becauſe there is a twofold temptation.

Aug. Epiſt. 146. ad Conſentium.

1. *Alia probationis*: The one of trial.
2. *Alia deceptionis*: The other of deceit.

By the firſt we are tried, Whether we be good or bad, right or counterfeit, that if we be found faithful we may be approved, and ſo crowned; and thus, as the Goldſmith trieth his mettal, whether it be Gold or Copper; ſo God, and not the Devil, tempteth or trieth us by croſſes and afflictions, whether

whether we will cleave close to him, as *Job* did, or start aside like a broken bow, as *Demas* and all Apostata's do: and thus God is said to have tempted *Abraham*, when he commanded him to sacrifice his Son *Isaac*. *Ambrose de Abraham. l. 1. c. 8.*

By the second kind of temptation, we are deceived that we might be damned; and thus, as Saint *James* truly affirmeth, *God tempteth no man*, but the Devil is the chief author of all such temptations, and is therefore rightly called, *Satan the Tempter*. James 1. 13.

3 In respect of the forms wherein they appeared, they are called by the very same names of the things in whose shapes and formes they have appeared; as the Serpent, when he appeared unto *Eve* under the shape of a Serpent, which had, as some write, the countenance of a fair Maid, that *Evah* might the sooner be perswaded to listen to her suggestions. 3. Respect.

And I read it cited out of Saint *Augustine*, that it is not permitted unto the Devil to invest himself with what form or shape he will, or naturally he can take upon him, but he is limitted to such semblances as God is pleased to permit unto him; or otherwise there is no question, but he would have taken a goodlier and a more specious resemblance upon him, then the form of a Serpent, if God would have suffered him so to do, when he appeared unto *Evah*.

And though he often appears in the form and shape of a man, yet because Christ, by reason of the hypostatical union of God and man, that are so fast, and so indissolubly linked together, that both the Natures do make but one Person, is worshipped and adored under the form of man; God never permits the Devil to assume that form, when he appears and requires to be worshipped and served of his Vassals, that forsake their God, and give themselves, as Witches and Sorcerers do, unto the Devil; but he appears either in the shape of an ugly Centaure, or a shaggy Goat, or some such like ill-favoured beast: And therefore Saint *John* in his *Revelation* saith, That *they worship the beast*, which may as well signifie Satan, as the Antichrist that worshippeth Satan.

The Devil, commonly appears in the ſhape of ugly creatures; and alwayes ſo, when he requires to be worſhipped.

And the Divines do obſerve divers paſſages of Scriptures, which intimate, that the Devil, when he would be worſhipped, doth often preſent himſelf in the form of a Goat; and that therefore the *Hebrew* word *Sehir*, ſignifieth both a Goat and a Devil: As both Saint *Jerome*, and the *Chaldee* Tranſlator, do render the word in the ſeventeenth of *Leviticus* and the ſeventh, where the Lord ſaith, *Nequaquam hoſtias tuas immolabis Sehir*, to ſignifie the Devil; and ſo our Tranſlation reads it, *Thou ſhalt not any more offer thy ſacrifices to the Devil*: And Rabbi *Quimhi*, the beſt interpreter of the Hebrew words, ſheweth, the reaſon why the Devil ſhould be called by *Sehir*, which is the name of a Goat, is, becauſe he appeareth to them, that give themſelves to him, in the ſhape and form of a ſhaggy Goat: And ſo *Aquinas*, and *Lyra*, and *Sanctes Pagninus*, interpreting the four and thirtieth of *Eſay*, where he ſaith, *Sehirims*, or *piloſi ſaltabunt ibi*, the ſhaggie beaſts *ſhall leap and dance in the wilderneſs*, do ſay, it ſignifieth, the Devils ſhall play, and leap, and dance there: And to make this yet more plain, the two chiefeſt Oracles of the Devil, *Hammonium*, that is derived of *Ham* the ſon of *Noah*, and *Dodonæum*, of whom we read amongſt the grand-children of *Noah*, were figured, the firſt in the form of a Goat, and the ſecond in the ſhape of a great horned-Ram.

Tho. 12. q. 102. art 3. Lyran in Exod. 12 & 1 Reg. 30.

Gen. 10.

Whereby you may perceive, that the Devil hath appeared, and doth often appear, unto the Sorcerers, and Witches, and other wicked men, in the ſhape and form of other creatures, from whom he is denominated, according to the names of the creatures, whoſe forms he doth aſſume.

4. Reſpect. Their knowledge is great in two reſpects

4. In reſpect of their great knowledge they are called, *Δαίμονια, Scientes*, knowing creatures, which we tranſlate Devils; and ſo they are called here in my Text; and they are called *Δαίμονια* in a twofold reſpect.

1. Reſpect. *Zanch. de operib. Dei l. 4. c. 1.*

1. In regard of that knowledge and underſtanding which they have from their creation; *Et qua adhuc præditi ſunt ex parte*, and with which in part they are as yet indued, ſaith *Zanchius*.

2. In

2. In regard of their acquisite knowledge, which by their long experience and diligent observation of things, they have gotten since their fall, both by what they have heard and seen. For, 2. Respect.

1. They hear and have heard very much: as they hear God himself when they stand before him; they hear the good Angels, when they come among them; they hear much from the Word of God when we preach it, and, I believe, far more attentively then many of us do hear it, though they believe it not, and look for no benefit by it; and they hear all the words of men; and they can tell how to make use of all that they hear. And 1. They hear much. Job 1. 6.

2. As they hear very much, so they see very much more: And that, 2. They see much.

1. Partly by that eminency of place wherein many of them are seated, which is the Air, as the Apostle speaketh: not that the Air is the proper place and seat of their habitation, where they shall be punished; but where now, as from a Watch-tower, they look down round about them to behold all the actions of men. 1. In respect of their residency. Ephes. 2. 2.

2. Partly by their wandring up and down, and, as he saith himself, *By going to and fro in the earth, and walking up and down in it*, and that with such great celerity, as no winged Fowl is able for to match them: *Quia omnis spiritus, ales est: & hoc Angeli & Dæmones sunt.* saith *Tertullian*, All spirits, both Angels and Devils, are like a flying bird; and therefore, saith he, they are here, and there, and every where in a moment; *Et totus orbis illis locus unus est*, and all the world to them is but, as it were, one certain place: not by their ubiquity, as filling all places at once, which is only proper unto God, but by their celerity, moving into a thousand thousand places, as it were, in a moment. 2. In respect of their celerity. Job 1. 7.

And

And ſo in theſe two reſpects they have abundant, and, in a manner, infinite, knowledge, and that not only about the Creatures, and all the ſecrets of Nature, and all the actions, yea and ſometimes the ſecret motions of all men, but alſo concerning God himſelf, and his divine Myſteries: as they know that there is a God; and they know him to be, εἷς ἰδιάζων θεός, one God of himſelf; and, εἷς θεὸς ἐν πᾶσιν, one God in all things; and they know him to be, ὑψίστου θεόν, the moſt high God; and they know Chriſt to be the holy one of God; and ſo they know the Scriptures, for they alledge them unto Chriſt, and oftentimes to St. *Anthony*, as *Athanaſius* writeth in his life.

Aug. de regulis veræ vitæ. Orpheus apud Juſt. Martyr. Mark 1. 24. Athanaſ. in vita S. Antonii

And therefore it is not knowledge (that many men abuſe, and maketh many men proud) that can make any one happy, unleſs they do rightly uſe their knowledge to the glory of God, the edifying of their neighbours, and the ſaving of their own ſouls: for you ſee the Devils have more knowledge then any of us all, and his knowledge doth but make him liable to the greater torments: *Quia corruptio optimi eſt peſſima*, The abuſe of the beſt things, is the worſt thing of all.

5. Reſpect. 5. In reſpect of their power, the Devil is called *poteſtas aeris*, the power of the Air, Principalities, and Powers, and the *Prince of this world*. And that we might the better underſtand the greatneſs of his power, he is called, the *roaring Lion*, the *great Dragon*, the great *Leviathan*, and the like; all names of power.

1 Pet. 5. 8. Apoc. 12. 9. Job 40. 20.

But yet here you muſt obſerve a twofold property of their power: As,

And they have δύναμιν, non ἐξουσίαν. *Vide Zanch. de operibus Dei l. 4. c. 2.*

1. That it is, *Poteſtas data & conceſſa, & non propria atque innata*, a power given them of God, and not their own proper innate power from themſelves: for all the power they have, they have it given them from God, and not from themſelves: And therefore, as our Saviour ſaith of *Pilate*, ſo I may ſay of them, That they had had no power at all, except it had been given them from above by God.

2. That

2. That it is *poteſtas limitata, non abſoluta*, a power limited, and not *abſolute*; for as God ſaith unto the Sea, *Hitherto ſhalt thou go and no further, here ſhalt thou ſtay thy proud waves*; ſo he ſaith unto the Devils, *Thus far* ſhall you moleſt, oppreſs, and perſecute my ſervants, but no further: For, as Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, *ſi Diabolus tantum nocere poſſet quantum vellet, aliquis juſtorum non remaneret.* If Satan might do, what he would do, *not a righteous man* ſhould remain upon the face of the earth.

Their natural power, which they have from God, from their *creation* is very exceeding great, but now ſince they ſinned it is *abridged*, bridled, and they ſaid to be held in chains.

And therefore, *whatſoever* he can do, he can do the ſame but by the leave and permiſſion of God; for he is like a Bear, *in a Chain*; and without Gods leave, he could not touch *Job* with the leaſt of his fingers, nor enter into the *Swine* without the permiſſion of Chriſt, and therefore much leſs can he enter into any man or woman, and ſo poſſeſs them, without the *leave* and licence from God;

John 2. 16. Matth 8 41.

But when God gives him leave, and ſuffereth him without ſtop, then his power extendeth it ſelf, to do very much upon the creatures: as he cauſed the *winds* to meet together and to ſmite the four corners of the houſe of *Job*'s Son, and ſo to overthrow the ſame; and ſo likewiſe, with this leave and permiſſion of God, his power *reacheth*, to the rayſing of *ſtorms* and tempeſts, clouds and darkneſs, and the ſinking of Ships, to the deſtruction of Men and Women, as he threw down the *houſe*, to deſtroy all the Children of *Job*; and ſo he can enter into men or women, and drive them as he did the *ſwine*, to hang, drown, or do any other miſchief unto themſelves, as here, to caſt the Poſſeſſed oft time *into the fire*, and oft into the *waters*. For though he hath no power to work upon the *Celeſtial* bodies, becauſe an *inferior ſubſtance*, or a lower cauſe, *vim nullam habet in ſuperiora corpora*, have no power at all to work upon *ſuperior bodies*, as the Philoſophers do affirm; yet we ſee plainly, that his power extendeth unto all *ſublunary* and *elementary* creatures.

And God gave him leave at *Wickham* to throw me down upon the pavement of Flint ſtones, but not to deſtroy me.

Matth. 17. 15.

And therefore ſeeing the *power* of the Devil is ſo great, as both his *names* and his *doings* do declare, and yet that all his power can do *juſt nothing*, not ſo much as to ſhake the leaf of an Aſpen

What the former point of doctrine teacheth us.

Aſpen Tree, without the *leave* and permiſſion of God, it ſhould teach us.

1. To pray to God.

1. To pray to God to preſerve us, and to put a hook in his noſtrills, to ſtop him from his malice.

2. To relie on God.

2. Doing this, to be as bold as Lions, to do our *duties* without *fear* of all the Devils in hell; for if God be *with us*, what need I care, what Men or Devils can do unto me? *quia non plus valet ad dejiciendum, infernapœna quam ad erigendum divina tutela*, becauſe all the power of darkeneſs is not *ſo able* to caſt me down, as the *aſſiſtance* of God is to *hold* me up, or to raiſe me, when I am fallen.

We read of other names of the Devil according to the diſtinct *places* and *offices* that they have among themſelves, to do *miſchief* and to tempt wretched men, to ſin and to offend their God, as *Lucifer* and *Beelzebub*, that tempt the young *Gallants* unto pride, and to murther each other, in a ſingle Combate, rather then they will abate an inch of their *reputation*. And *Leviathan*, that is the arch Doctor of all *Heretickſ*, and filleth their heads with ſuch itching *curioſities*, as makes them leave the *true light*, and fall away to erronious darkneſs: and *Aſmodeus* that inticeth young men and maids *unto wantonneſs* and fleſhly luſts; and *Bal-bereth* that we read of in the eighth and ninth of *Judges*, and tempteth men to *quarels* and contentions; and *Baalim*, and *Aſtaroth*, and many more, too tedious to rehearſe, and which were the gods of the Gentiles, but the names of Devils, for *dii gentium Demonia*; but

Judg. 8. 33. and c. 9. 4.

3. Of the number of the Devils.

Ariſt. Phyſicor. l. 8. & *Metaph.* l. 12. Text 48.

3. To paſs from their Names unto their Number; *Ariſtotle* is of opinion, that there is one ſupreme cauſe, which is God, not tied to the preſſure and incombrance of a body, and fourty ſeven ſpirits ſubordinate to that ſupreme Cauſe, according to the number of the motions which he obſerved in the celeſtial orbes of Heaven; and *Merc. Triſmegiſtus*, as *Aquinas* cites him, is of the ſame mind, and denieth that there are any other ſpirits, excepting thoſe that wheel about the heavens: for they thought that thoſe heavenly bodies could not ſo ordinarily move, except they were animated and quickned thereunto by ſome ſpirits of life: which is very true, and ſeems agreeable to what

what *Ezekiel* ſpeaketh of the celeſtial bodies, which he calleth wheels, that the Spirit of life was in the wheels: but they might have conſidered, that if thoſe ſpirits were neceſſary for the uniform & unceſſant motions of the celeſtial ſphears, which were created for the ſervice of man, then was it much more convenient, that the firſt and ſupreme cauſe, which is God, ſhould have many more infinite numbers, for his uſe and ſervice: and ſo *Daniel* ſaith, that *thouſand thouſands miniſtred to him, and ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtood before him*; and holy *Job* demands, *Is there any number of his armies?* and *Rabbi Moſes* the Egyptian, *l. 2. c. 7.* ſaith, That they be as many, as be the vertues of the heavens, the Stars, and all other inferiour things: and the *Platonicks* ſay, that they are ſo many, that they are indefinite.

Daniel 7. *Vide* Job 25. v. 3.

And if there be, as it is moſt true, ſo many good Angels waiting always upon God, to do him ſervice, and to praiſe him, and magnifie him for ever; then queſtionleſs it is moſt certain that the number of the Devils is very very great, and, in all likelihood, far greater then the number of the good Angels; for, as among men, *Magna plenitudo hominum, ſed magna ſolitudo bonorum*, the worſer part is by far the greater part, and the number of Reprobates is far more then the number of them that ſhall be ſaved, as our Saviour teſtifieth: ſo it is *veriſimile*, that the caſe is ſo betwixt the good and the bad Angels that more fell then ſtood: for it is aſſerted by all the Schools, that they fell from all the orders of Angels, and Archangels, principalities, dominations, virtues and powers, Cherubims, Seraphims, and Thrones; and it is moſt certain, that *quoad nos*, their number is infinite beyond number, for a Legion of them which conſiſted of ſome thouſands, had entred into one man; which made me oftentimes to wonder, how many Legions of them were in the members of the long Parliament, and how many indeed, are in all the wicked men of the world, when they could ſpare a Legion to reſide in one man?

Mark 5. 15. Luke 8. 30.

And therefore well might Saint *Anthony* ſee the whole world filled with Devils, and covering the ſame with Nets and Snares which they have laid in every place, and in

every thing; as snares in our meat, snares in our drink, snares in our cloaths, and snares in every thing we do, and in every path we walk; and all to the end that they may catch us, and catching us to destroy us.

And therefore, how warily should we walk upon thorns, and among snares, and continually pray to God, to give his good Angels charge over us, to preserve us in all our ways from these wicked Spirits, that otherwise will do worse then dash our heads against the stones, when they destroy both our bodies and our souls in hell.

And so you have seen the nature, the names, and the number of the ingredients; and now

2. The Ingression of the devils into men and women.

2. The next point is, their Ingression or Entrance into the bodies of men and women to possess them; and this is so plain (when the subjects are fitted for them by their sins, and wicked course of life, and God in justice, for the neglect of his Service, or dishonour to his Name, gives them leave so to do) that more need not be spoken of it; but as the fellow, that fell into a Pit, and his friend, that saw him there, began to question him, How long he had been there, and how he fell in, and the like, the poor man in the Pit answered, I pray thee take care how to help me out, and not to question how I came in: so, when we see so many men and women, as we have seen of late, while the long Parliament lasted, possessed with such and so many Devils, as they were; the best course that we can take, is speedily to use the best means to dispossess them; and that is, saith our Saviour, by *prayer and fasting*; which is the third Point that I am to treat of.

But before I could finish the handling of these two rare Graces, and most powerfull Weapons to drive out these Devils, I know not by what machination, or by whose fascination I cannot tell; onely,

Credo aliquis Dæmon, magna me facinat ira,
Percussitque ferem, dum sanguis rivulo fluxit.

I do verily believe, some of these Devils followed me with great wrath, and with a full intent to destroy me, and it had not

not failed, but he had done it, had not the great *Jehovah*, my continual Deliverer, commanded his Angels to preſerve me; for as I was coming from *Oxford* to *London*, at *Wickham*, after Dinner, the man of the houſe holding my Horſe at the block ſide, for me to get up, and I aſcending the ſteps, to the top of the block, as ſoon as ever I laid my foot upon the third ſtep, I found the ſame looſe, and lifted up, and I was ſo forcibly, ſuddenly, and ſo ſtrangely thrown down upon the pavement of Flint-ſtones, that cut ſuch a huge gaſh in my forehead, that the bloud exceedingly guſhed out upon the pavement, and was able to daſh out my brains; and my whole thigh, from my hip to my knee, was ſo bruiſed, that being lifted up, I was not able to ſtand, but was carried in betwixt two, and recovered twice, as they ſay, with ſtrong Waters, when I fainted, untill I was laid upon my bed. *

* By the good man of the houſe, and honeſt Maſter *Parſons* that rode in my company, and was very carefull of me.

All which, in ſo ſtrange a manner, as I found it done, I do conceive, and do verily believe, could never accidentally be done, but that ſome evil Spirit, the Devil and Satanas did it purpoſely to end my life, that I might no more oppoſe his dear limbs and adherents.

But, as God had prepared a Whale to ſave *Jonas* as ſoon as ever he was caſt into the Sea, ſo God provided a Surgeon for me preſently, and he waſhed my wounds, and did help me, Bleſſed be God for it; and God I beſeech him, to give me his grace, never to forget this, and all other his goodneſs, and mercies, and loving favours towards me, but to ſerve him, and praiſe him, and magnifie him for ever, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord: To whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, be aſcribed all honour and glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Jehovæ Liberatori.

FINIS.

THE PERSECUTION AND OPPRESSION

(Which, as *Solomon* saith, is able to make a wise man mad,)

OF

JOHN BALE,

That was called to be Bishop of *Ossory*, by the sole Election, without any other mans Motion, of that pious King, *Edw. 6.*

AND OF

GRUFFITH WILLIAMS,

That was called after the same manner to the same Bishoprick by the sole Election, without any other mans Motion, of that most excellent, pious King, and glorious Martyr, *Charles* I.

Two Learned men, and Right Reverend Bishops of *Ossory.*

LONDON,

Printed for the Author, 1664.

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I. THis *John Bale* was a great Schollar, and a Doctor of Divinity in the University of *Oxford*, in the time of King *Edward* the sixth, and he himself wrote a Book, (which the Right Worshipful, and my much honoured Friend, Sir *James Ware* lent me) wherein he setteth down, the vocation, persecution, and deliverance of himself: and out of that Book I have drawn this Abstract of his life and persecution, and expulsion from that very house from whence I was also expulsed, and for which I am still oppressed and troubled.

1. His Vocation was by the meer good will, without any sollicitation of any other, of that good King *Edwards*, when he saw him in *South-hampton*, he sent unto him by divers of his Nobility, to bid him prepare himself to go to be the Bishop of *Ossory*, which he obediently did, and transported himself and his Family into *Ireland*, and being consecrated at *Dublin*, though with some opposition, by reason of the Popish inclination of the Catholick Clergy, he presently went to *Kilkenny*; where

2. His Persecution did begin, for he no sooner began to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which he incessantly did, but the most part of his Prebends and the Popish party opposed and contradicted him; and within a very little while, after the death of King *Edw.6.* he was exceedingly persecuted by *Barnaby Bolger*, and the Popish Priests, and others, that sought his death in his house, this Bishops Court, *alias Holms* Court, where he saw five of his household Servants, four men and a maid, of sixteen years of age, killed, before his face, and so had he been slain also, had he not shut the Iron Grate of his Castle, and kept the

Rich. Foster a Deacon, *Rich. Headly*, *John Cage*, and the Maid.

Kearnes out, until the good ſuffereige of *Kilkenny*, with a hundred horſemen, and three hundred footmen, brought him away in the night time, and ſo delivered him out of their hands, and forthwith ſent him to *Dublin*, from whence, his life being there likewiſe hunted after, he was conveyed away in a Marriners apparel, and in his paſſage to *Zealand* was cruelly toſſed by tempeſts, and was taken at ſea, and carried to St. *Ives* in *Cornwall*, where a wicked fellow named *Walter* accuſed our Biſhop *Bale* of High Treaſon before the Juſtices there, yet being not able to prove any thing againſt him, the good God delivered him out of their hands.

And yet not long after one *Martin* an Engliſh Pirate did moſt falſly accuſe him of many hainous crimes, as the putting down of the Maſs in *England*, cauſed Doctor *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to be impriſoned, and poyſoned the King, and many other hainous things, which brought him abundance of troubles and vexations with the Captain of the ſhip wherein he paſſed towards *Holland*, as himſelf relateth at large, from *fol.* 38. of his Book of his perſecution unto *fol.* 42.

And becauſe they are ſo fully exemplified and expreſſed by himſelf there, together with the reſt of his troubles and perſecutions which he had in *Oſſory*, in *Dublin*, and in his paſſage by Sea towards *Germany*, in the Book that himſelf printed, of his Vocation to the Biſhoprick of *Oſſory*, and his perſecution in the ſame, I will ſet no more down here, but refer my Reader to that Book.

II. *Griffith*

II. GRiffith Williams, born at *Carnarvon*, at fourteen years old was sent to *Oxford*, from whence by reason of the hard usage of him *Junonis ob iram*; by an angry *Juno*, that was his Unckles *virago*, he was fain to betake himself, within two years after, *alienas miserere terras*, and failing to pass into *France*, where he intended, he was forced to retire into *Cambridge*, where having *no friends*, nor money, a Country Gentleman of *Harleton*, named Mr. *Line*, having but *one* little Son, about eight years old, took affection unto me, and entertained me into his house, and table, to *tutor* and teach that young Child, and being there, I got my self admitted into *Jesus Colledge*; where, as it came to my *course*, I kept my Exercise, and within *two years* after, (having gotten a *Certificate* from *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, of my study and good carriage there, for *two years* before, I had my degree *Bachelour* of Arts, and within three years after, I took my degree *Master of Arts*, at 21 years of age, and, being admitted into the *holy Orders* of a Deacon by the Reverend Bishop of *Rochester*, and of Priesthood by the Bishop of *Ely*, after I had been a while Rector of *Foscot* in *Buckingham*-shire, I became a Preacher and *Lecturer* in St. *Peters* the Proud in *Cheapside*, and in the *Cathedral* Church of S. *Paul*, for the *full space* of five years; I Lectored upon St. *Pauls* Epistle to the *Romans*, and then began my persecution by the *Puritans*, as they were then called, and *Fanaticks* of those daies, (saving a *little opposition* that I formerly had by the *same generation*, while I was Curate of *Hanwel* in *Middlesex*) for now, the *more pains* I took to study, and to preach the truth *boldly* unto them, as I *ever did* without fear, the *more mad* they were against me, and so mad, that not only forty, as they were against St. *Paul*, but I believe

For I found it so.

And then printed my first Book, intituled, *The refutation of Pilate*; and my second Book intituled, *The delights of the Saints*.

lieve above *twice* forty conſpired together to work my *death*, and moſt *falſly* accuſed me, of ſuch things as I never *knew*, never *did*, and never *ſaid*, yet they proſecuted the ſame ſo *maliciouſly* that I was *bound* over (and they did their *very beſt* to hinder me to get any bayl) to anſwer for my life, at the *Seſſions* houſe upon the Goal delivery of *Newgate*, where, I might demand, *tantene animis terreſtribus iræ?* But he that dwelleth in the Heavens, and knew mine *Innocency*, and the cauſe of their malice, *laughed them to ſcorn*, and became to me, as he is *alwaies* to them that fear him, *Deus in opportunitatibus*, a preſent help in trouble, and delivered me with *credit* and honour out of the mouth of thoſe Lions, that were *exceedingly* blamed and *checked* by that *worthy* Judge, that afterwards came to be Lord Chancellour *Coventrie*: *Sic me ſervavit Apollo*; So that *Jehova* ſaved me to whom I have *committed my ſelf* ever ſince, and vowed, I would *praiſe* him, and thank him, and do him the *beſt ſervice* that I could, while I lived, as I ſhewed in an Epiſtle before the *ſeven golden Candleſticks*. Then *immediately* after this, being then about twenty ſeven years old, I went to *Cambridge*, and, though my former troubles *waſted* my means, (being, by reaſon of the former *accuſations* of mine enemies, ſuſpended by the Biſhop of *London*, and driven to be releaſed by an *appeal* to the Prerogative Court) yet I took my degree *Bacholour of Divinity*, and returning to *London*, I preſently petitioned to my Lord of *Canterbury*, *Abbats*, (whom ever after I found, my very *gracious* Lord) and to my Lord Chancellour *Egerton*, (whom I found ſo likewiſe) and ſhewed them the *great wrongs* and abuſes, to my *utter* ruine, that I had ſuffered from the Biſhop of *London*, and thoſe *bloody* perſecutors, without any ſhadow or *colour* of truth in any of all their Accuſations; and they preſently *pitying* my caſe gave me the Parſonage of *Llan-Llechyd*, worth to me a 100 *li. per annum*, a better Rectory, than that which mine enemies cauſed the Biſhop of *London* to take from me, that was rightly preſented to it by the Earl of *South-hampton*. But *ſicut unda ſequitur undam*, ſo one affliction comes in the *neck* of another; for I was no ſooner arrived in *Llan-Llechyd*, but the Biſhop of *Bangor*, becauſe I refuſed to take *another* living for this

Who ſeeing that they would prefer *no Bill* againſt me, *quitted* me, and ſaid they had *forfeited*, and ſhould pay their *Recognizance*, as they well deſerved, to the King. See the Epiſtle to the Reader before the ſeven Golden Candleſticks.

that

that he ſaw was ſo *commodious* for him, began to *perſecute* me afreſh, and deviſed certain *Articles*, which *ex officio* he proſecuted againſt me, and I was fain again to *appeal* unto the *Arches*, and my Lord of *Bangor* being in *London*, my Lord of *Canterbury* ſent for him and me, and *checked* him exceedingly for his proſecution, and gave me a *Licence* to preach throughout divers Dioceſſes of his Province, and a *Protection* from being moleſted by my Lord of *Bangor*; yet ſtill I found that *buſie Biſhop* would not be quier, but as the Poet ſaith, *Manet alta mente repoſtum, judicium paridis*, ſo my complaint againſt him to my Lord of *Canterbury* ſtuck in his mind, as I had but a *little* reſpect or joy in his Dioceſs, eſpecially from his Lordſhip; therefore, after I had continued there *four years*, about 32 years old I went to *Cambridge* again, and took my degree *Doctor of Divinity*; and then, returning to *London*, I became a *domeſtical* Chaplain to the Earl of *Montgomery*, afterwards Earl of *Pembroke*, and Lord Chamberlain to his Majeſty, to whom I had been Chaplain at large for many years before. And then *bleſſed be God*, I had a *little reſt* from my perſecution, and began to ſtudy *hard*, to Print *Books*, of no ſmall Volumes, nor of mean Subjects, as *the ſeven Golden Candleſticks*, and many other Sermons, now termed, *The beſt Religion*, and *The true Church*: divided in ſix ſeveral Books. And to be *promoted*, to ſome eminent places, to be his *Majeſties* Chaplain, a Prebend of *Weſtminſter*, and Dean of *Bangor*, and before I was full forty years old, in Election and *very like* to have been made Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*.

But, when the Sun ſhineth *brighteſt* it continueth not long without *Clouds*, and often times follow *ſtormes* and tempeſt; ſo after I had ſpent theſe *halſion daies*, and lived many years in the *Kings Court*, I found ſome rubs and *obſtacles* of my deſires by reaſon of ſome *diſcontent* and difference betwixt me and the then Archbiſh. of *Canterbury* *, that clouded the *brightneſs* of my hopes for ſome while; yet at laſt, when the *Long Parliament* began to ſtruggle, and not only to chop off the head of the *wiſe* and ſtout Earl of *Strafford*, but alſo to clap up the Biſhop of *Canterbury* in Priſon, and to clip the *wings* of all the reſt of the Biſhops, his Majeſty, of his *own* gracious mind and accord, without

* About my ſeeking to be Biſhop of *Aſaph*.

out *any motion* of any man made unto him, when the Lord *Primate* of *Ireland* delivered him a *Petition* from the Bishops of *Ireland*, to desire his Majesty to nominate a very worthy man, Doctor *Sybthorp*, that was Bishop of the poor Bishoprick of *Kilfanora*, unto the Bishoprick of *Ossory*, answered the *Primate*, that he had reserved the same for Doctor *Williams*, Dean of *Bangor*: To whom the *Primate* replied, Your Majesty bids him to his loss, (to use the Primates *own words*, as he told me,) and his Majesty answered, He could make him a *saver*, and therefore let him have the *refusal* of it; and when I heard of *this passage* from my Lord Primate, I thought I were a very *unworthy* man if I refused so *gracious* an offer of *so gracious* a Master; and considering that, as my Predecessor, and a man of my spirit, Bishop *Bale*, was called by the *sole free motion* of that pious King, *Edw.6.* so I was called by the *sole free motion* of the most religious King *Charles I.* I thought my self *rightly* called by God unto it, and I *accepted* the same, and yielded unto the *divine* calling, with all *thankefulness* unto his gracious Majesty. And now the *storms* and tempest begin to darken the *Sunshine* of my prosperity; for I was no sooner arrived in *Ireland*, seen *Kilkenny*, and preached *once* in that Cathedral, and consecrated in *Dublin* about *Michaelmas*, but the *Rebellion* there brake out the *October* following, after I had spent well-nigh 300 *li.* and had received not one penny; then was I forced *to fly* towards his Majesty, and the next Summer after having occasion to go to *Dublin*, after I had setled my Wife and Family in a house that I had by *Tocester*, and the *first* night that I came to my house, after my return from *Ireland*, the Rebels in *North-hampton*, having heard how *zealously* I had preached for his Majesty, and that now I was *returned* to my house by *Tocester* again, sent a *Troope* of horse under the command of Captain *Flaxon*, and so he carried me a prisoner to *North-hampton*, where at my first *entrance* into the Town, I saw a whole troop of *Boys* and *Girls*, and other Apprentices, that expected my coming, and as the boys cried to *Elizeus, come up thou bald pate, come up*, so they cried along the street, *a Bishop, a Bishop*, and with this *Io paan* was I carried to the *Commissioners* Lodging, where I was *clapt up* close in a Chamber,

Chamber, and one of the Commiſſioners, Sir *John North*, I believe the *civilleſt* of them all, came to me with a *Satchel* of Writings, that Captain *Flaxon* found in my houſe, and opening the ſame, the *firſt writings* that came into his hand was the *Treatiſe* that I had written, and had intituled it, *The Grand Rebellion*, and had written thoſe words on the *outward leaf* thereof; and as ſoon *as ever* he took it out of the bag, I made *bold*, before he had caſt *his eye* upon the Title, to take it out of his hands, and ſaid, this is a *Sermon* that I carried with me to preach where I ſhould reſt on the *Lords day*, but that the Letters, that were to the *King*, and to the Biſhop of *York*, and others, were in the Satchel, and he for *haſte* to ſee the Letters, ſuffered me to put my Sermon and *the Grand Rebellion* into my Pocket, which I feared would have been my *death* or utter ruine, if the Commiſſioners had *ſeen* it: Then Sir *John*, having taken out the Letters, asked me, how I *durſt* at thoſe times carry Letters unto the King? I anſwered, they were Letters from thoſe *poor* Biſhops, that therein ſhewed to his Majeſty how they were *pillaged* and perſecuted by the *Popiſh* Iriſh *Rebels*, and I knew, and had a *Copy* of what was in them before I would carry them; then Sir *John* ſaid, I did *wiſely* to do ſo: and ſo he went in unto the *reſt* of the Commiſſioners, and left me, *locke* in the room, yet very *joyful* for having gotten my *Grand Rebellion* out of his hands: but behold ſtill the *malice* of Satan and the *ſubtilty* of his Inſtruments, while I was *walking* up and down the room, and had torn the *worſt caſe* that I had writ againſt the *Parliament*, and chewed it in my mouth and threw it away, an *arrand knave* was peeping at the key hole, and went unto the *Commiſſioners* and told them that I had ſome deſperate or *treacherous* Papers, which he ſaw me *tear*; then Sir *John North* comes to me again and aked, *what Papers* thoſe were that I was ſeen *tearing*? I ſmilingly anſwered, *Alas Sir*, ever ſince I came from Sea, I was troubled with a *looſeneſs*, and having by chance a *looſe leaf* in my Pocket, I pluckt it out, and ſaid, *this* is the Paper, that I had in my hand, to go to the houſe of office, and he *looking* upon it, and finding it of no effect, ſaid, *Is this all*? And went his waies: and then I remembred what our Saviour ſaid, *When you are brought*

And if I had not done ſo, I had been undone.

Mark 13.11. *before Rulers, take no thought what you ſhall ſpeak*, for it ſhall be given you, *in illa hora*, in that very hour, what to anſwer; and God alſo wrought in the Commiſſioners *ſuch thoughts* of me, and my ſufferings by the *Iriſh*, that they gave me a *Paſs* to go home, and delivered me my *horſes*, which Captain *Flaxon* hoped to have had for his reward, and the forty pounds, which he found in my houſe, and which I told the Commiſſioners was *all that I had* to keep me and my Family: *So graciouſly* did God help me, that I went home with joy, contrary to the expectation of my *Neighbours*, that informed the Rebels of my return to thoſe parts.

And within a *few daies* after was the Battel at *Edge-hill*, at which time, I went to his Majeſty, and *waited* on him untill he came to *Oxford*, where immediately I printed my *Grand Rebellion*; and finding how *well* and how graciouſly his Majeſty accepted of my *endeavours* therein, I went to *Wales* and ſtudied my *diſcovery of myſteries*, or the *plots* of the Parliament, to overthrow both *Church* and *State*, and by the next Winter I came to *Oxford* to Print it, and being printed, Secretary *Faukeland* miſliking *a paſſage*, that I had ſet down of the *Epiſcopal* power *in cauſa ſanguinis*, would have had it *called in*, but his Majeſty would not ſuffer it to be *ſuppreſt*; therefore I reſolved, by the *next* Winter, to publiſh (as I did) my Book of *the Rights of Kings* both in Church and Commonwealth, and the *wickedneſs* of the pretended Parliament; and in the *interim* I was perſwaded to go to *London*, to ſee what I could work upon my Lord of *Pembroke*, whom I had ſerved ſo *many years*, and tutored *all his Children*, whereof two were now with his Majeſty; and when I came to *London* I took the opportunity to go unto him, while he was *in bed*, and after much conference with him, about the *differences* betwixt the King and his Parliament, and their *diſloyalty* to his Majeſty, and that I ſaw he began to be *offended* and very angry, for fear he ſhould *deliver* me to the Parliament, that formerly had cauſed *all* that they found of my *Grand Rebellion* to be *burnt*, I took my *leave* of him, and preſently *highed* me to go out of Town; but was denied to *paſs*, untill I uſed my wit to the Maior of *London*, to get a *Paſs*, by telling him, that I was a poor

And here in *Oxford* I printed firſt my *Grand Rebellion*, and afterwards, my *diſcovery of myſteries*, and laſt of all, *The rights of Kings*.

For I conceived that time to be the ſafeſt time.

poor *pillaged* Preacher of *Ireland*, that came to *London* to ſee my friends, and now having ſome other friends in *Northhampton* and thereabout, I humbly deſired his *Paſs* to go to ſee them, and he *pitying* my caſe, called for a cup of *Wine*, and commanded his Clerk to write me a Paſs *without a Fee*.

And I have his Paſs by me to this very day.

And then, after I had paſſed a good way towards *Northhampton*, I turned to *Oxford*: and from thence within a while to *Wales*, and from thence to *Ireland*; and after *Naſby* fight, being bound with my L. *Taaffe* in a thouſand Marks a peece unto his *Majeſty*, for the appearance of *Collonel Vangary*, (that returned at *Edge-hill* fight from the Parliament unto the King with Sir *Faithful Forteſcue*) at *Beaumares* Sizes, for taking away a *Drove* of Cattle from the Drovers of *Angleſey*, and he not appearing, our *Recognizans* were forfeited, and I was fain to return to his *Majeſty*, with Letters from my Lord of *Ormond*, that *Van-garie* could not come out of *Ireland*, and therefore his Majeſty was humbly deſired to remit the *forfeiture* of our Recognizance, which his Majeſty, by his *Letters* to the Juſtices of Peace of *Angleſey*, very graciouſly did, and ſent *another* Letter by me again to my Lord of *Ormond*: but in my paſſage to his Majeſty, I was like to be carried to the Parliament, by a *knave*, that about ten miles from *Aberyſtwith* began to examine me, and ſaid that I was a *Spy* for the King, and therefore I muſt be carried before *ſome* of the Parliament Officers, to be *examined*; and I had no other ſhift but to *commend* him for his care, and to tell him, that there were *too many* Spies abroad, and I was but a *poor pillaged* man in *Ireland*, that would very *willingly* go before any man, and I ſtill called for *drink*, until he was perſwaded that I was a very *honeſt* man, and ſo he let me go in peace. And before I could paſs into *Dublin*, General *Mitton* with his Army, had entred into our *Country*, and I, preaching that *Sunday*, that he came, at *Rhudhland*, had an *Alarm* about midnight, and was fain to flee to *Carnarvon* ſhire, and when he came to *Carnarvon* ſhire, to flee too *Angleſey*. And becauſe *Angleſey* was an *Iſland*, and could not be *won* if the Inhabitants would be *true* among themſelves, we that were *true Royaliſts*, ſummoned the *chiefeſt* Gentry of the Country, *Clergy* and *Laity*, to meet on a certain day

in *Llan-genenie*, to conſider what we ſhould *beſt do* for the defence of our Country; and though that Doctor *White*, and my ſelf, Mr. *Jo. Gruff.* and Mr. *Morgan*, and Mr. *Michael Evans*, drew an *Oath* of our faithfulneſs and *Allegiance* to his Majeſty, and the *defence* of our Country to the *uttermoſt hazard* of our lives and fortunes, againſt the *rebellious* Parliament ſo *full* and ſo *well* as our Wits and Learning could deviſe, and all that were there, excepting Mr. *O. Wood* of *Llan Gwyven*, took it without any *ſcruple*, yet, before any *one drop* of bloud was ſpilt, or *many daies* were paſt, the Gentry *Articled* with General *Mitton*, to yield up that *Iſland* into his hands, and he did ſet *Garriſons* where he pleaſed: then I, *conſcious* of what I had done, *alwaies* and every where againſt the Rebels, durſt not *truſt* to the mercy and *truth* of the Parliament, but gave ten pounds to Captain *Roberts*, that Mr. *O. Wood* had appointed over the Garriſon in *Holy Head*, to ſuffer me to paſs in a *Parliament Ship*, (for the King had none in thoſe parts) into *Dublin*, and the Maſter of the Ship, that carried me, ſaid, he *durſt* not ſet me on *ſhore* any where, but bring me to *Captain Wood*, that was then *Vice-Admiral* to the Parliament in the Bay before *Dublin*; yet I thought it was better for me to *truſt*, that God would deliver me from *that wood*, than to ſtay among the *bryars* of the Long Parliament; ſo when we came to the *Bay*, and neer the Vice-Admirals *Frigot*, it being *late* in the Evening, I told the Maſter that I was very ill, as I was *indeed*, and I gave him a 20 *s.* piece of Gold for carrying me over, and deſired that I might ſtay in my Cabin *there*, till next morning, which he readily yielded.

And early the *next* morning, when I thought all the Seamen in Captain *Woods* Ship, excepting the *Sentinel* that kept the Watch, were aſleep, leſt any of them ſhould *know* me, I deſired to be ſent to the *Vice-Admiral*; and ſo I was. And when I came there, I gave 2 *s.* 6 *d.* in ſilver to the *Sentinel*, to tell *Captain Wood*, that here was a *Kinſman* of my Lord of *Yorke*, (whom I knew was *reſpected* by all the Parliamenteers, becauſe he had *beſieged* the Caſtle of *Conway* for the Parliament, and was the *chief* man that called *Mitten* into the Country, and the *only inſtrument* to bring *Angleſey* to ſubmit unto him) and he had a

Paſs

Paſs from *Holy Head* to go, to do a little buſineſs in *Dublin*, and when he had finiſhed his buſineſs, to *return* with as much ſpeed as he could unto my Lord of *York* again, and I thought this was a *fair tale*; and indeed, I thank God, it took effect; for *Captain Wood* came to me, and after he had *examined* me about divers things, and I had anſwered him as *warily* as I could, he *ſearched* me, and, though I had in my Pocket a *Letter* from his Majeſty in my behalf to my Lord of *Ormond*, yet, becauſe I had ſo *artificially* ſet it on the backſide of a *Pocket-glaſs* and Combcaſe, betwixt the leather and the glaſs, he ſuſpected *no ſuch thing*, though he beheld his *own face* in the glaſs, and ſo conceiving *no ill thought* of me, but that I was a very *good friend* of the Parliament, being a Kinſman of my Lord of *Yorke*, and of his *name* too, he called for a good Glaſs of *Clarret-wine* and drank to me and to my Lord of *York*, and I drunk it off every drop; and put on a *bold face*, as I was wont to do every where, knowing that *degeneres animos timor arguit*.

And then he ſent me *to ſhore* towards *Hoeth*, and before we came to Land we ſhould ſee three or four Souldiers, *runnagadoes*, that were deſirous to go to the *Parliament* ſhip, but I gave five ſhillings to the Rowers to put me to land *a pretty* way from them, and when I was ſet on land, the boat-men turned away *preſently* and would not receive the *Souldiers* into their boat, which the Souldiers ſeeing, called unto me to *come* to them, or to *ſtay* for them, but I would not tarry, but went away as *faſt* as I could; and they ſeeing that preſented their *Guns*, as if they would *ſhoot* at me; yet I ſtill ventured *to go on*, knowing, that being no *ſtanding mark*, it was but a *chance* to hit me, if their pieces were charged, and they ſhot at me, and when they ſaw their *vain threatning* did not frighten me, they began to *run* after me, as faſt as ever *they could*, and I began to *run* from them, as faſt as ever *I could*, and being a pretty way *before* them, and ſeeing ſome *Iriſh men* reaping, not far off, I made towards them, and thought I could *get* to them before they could overtake me, and ſo I did: yet running *ſo faſt*, and *ſo far*, I was all of a ſweat before I came unto the *Reapers*, who kept off the *Souldiers* that they durſt not come *near* me. Thus was I ſaved from *thoſe*, that I aſſured

How I eſcaped the runnagado Souldiers.

assured my self would have *robbed* me, if not *kill* me.

Then I went to *Dublin*, and stayed there, and preached *often*, untill *Ireland* was surrendred upon *Articles* unto the Parliament; and I being by *name* to have the *benefit* of those Articles, and having received a very fair and *considerable* sum of money, by the hands of Sir *George Lane*, from my Lord of *Ormond*, that had *alwaies* shewed himself a most *honourable friend*, and a *bountiful* helper and benefactor to me; I resolved to live upon that small *temporal* means which I had, about twenty pounds a year, in *Wales*: But, after I put my *Books*, and *Cloaths*, and household-stuff, and all the *Money* I had; and my self into the *Packet-boat*, to pass to *Holy Head*, our ship was taken, about the middle way, by *Captain Beeche*, and I was *robbed* of all that I had in it, *Cloaths*, *Books*, *Money*, and *Household stuff*, and, with a great deal of *intreaty* and favour, I prevailed with *Captain Beeche*, to cast us all, his Prisoners, upon a little Island, called, *Irelands eye*, and making there a *fire* that we brought with us from the Ship, we had a boat that carried us into *Hoath*, and from thence we went all to *Dublin*, where Doctor *Loftus* very friendly gave me as much money as carried me to *London*; and there I petitioned to the Committee for Sequestred men, to be *restored* according to the *Articles* of *Anglesey* and of *Ireland*, to my means; and one of them, named *Scot*, that since hath been *hanged*, demanded, if I had not written the *Grand Rebellion*? and I answered, *I did:* then said he, and do you come for performance of *Articles*, that deserve rather to have your *head* cut off; No, no, said *Corbet* and the Chair-man, let us go to *another matter*; and I, left I should be clapt by the heels, *flunk* away from those Wolves, as fast as I could.

How I was taken prisoner and robbed by Captain *Beech*. And nothing troubled me so much as the loss of a paper Book which I had written, full of Sermons, which vexeth me to this very day.

Yet I was loath, so, *desistere captis*, but I would try *movere omnem lapidem*, and seeing *hac non successit alia aggrediar via*, and, having procured a little money, I went to Sir *Thomas*, *now Lord Fairfax*, and giving his Secretary some pieces of *Gold*, he got me my Lord *Fairfax* his Letters to the Committee of *Northampton* and of *Anglesey* to restore me to my *temporal* means, and they not sitting together, I was fain, in a very cold and *snowy* weather to walk on foot (for I had *no horse*, nor money to buy

And after the Committee read the Letters I got them from them to shew them to other Committee men, and I keep them with me to this very day.

buy one) from *one to one* of the Committee, to get their hands to reſtore me, and ſo I had them, and I thank God I was reſtored; then after I had been in *London*, and had the favour to go with my Lord of *Ormond* in his Coach from *Kingſton* to *Hampton* Court, to wait upon his Majeſty, a little before he went to the Iſle of *Wight*, I went, as ſoon as ever I heard the King was gone, to live *privately* and poorly in mine own houſe in *Wales*, and there fell hard to my ſtudy to finiſh my *Great Antichriſt*, and to preach as occaſion offered it ſelf; and ſo I continued for a long time in a very *poor condition*, ſo poor, that when three or four of the *Parliament* Souldiers were ſent to *quarter* at my houſe, and there, finding neither *Servants* to attend them, nor *Beer* to drink, nor other proviſion, but ſome *barly* bread, and a little *glas-doore*, I got a good *dinner* with them, of that proviſion which they brought, and they *preſently* went to their Captain, and told him, my houſe had *nothing* for them, and they muſt have a *better quarter*, and ſo before night they were removed to a *far better* accommodation, and my *mean* condition preſerved me ever after from the *quartering* of any *Souldiers*, while I lived there. So *poverty* was to me an *advantage*; and ſo I alwaies thought and believed, *that God would work together all things for the beſt for them that love him*, as the Apoſtle ſaith, and therefore this made me, when my Lord of *Pembroke* (whom I had for ſo many *Luſtras* of years ſerved) offered in this my poor eſtate, to procure me a *living*, then void in *Lancaſhire*, from the Parliament, worth four hundred pound *per annum*, ſo I would be ruled and *ſubmit* my ſelf to the Parliament, to *thank* his Lordſhip for his *Honourable* favour, but to *refuſe* the Living, for which he *ſeveral* times called me *fool* for my pains; and ſo likewiſe when Mr. *Henry Crumwel* heard of my *often* preaching in *Dublin*, and was deſirous to *hear me* in his own houſe, and when I had *ended* my Sermon bad me dine with him, and as he allowed the reſt of the Biſhops 100 *li.* a piece *per annum* to maintain them, ſo a *friend* of mine told me from his *Lordſhip*, he was *favourably* pleaſed to do the like to me; to whom I anſwered, that I was *infinitely* obliged to him for his favour, but that I was *reſolved* to live contented with that *ſmall*

When all the reſt of the Biſhops accepted of 100 *li.* a piece from *Hen. Crumwel*, I refuſed the ſame.

ſmall means that I had of mine own. I was ſo *fully* perſwaded to retain mine *integrity* and faithfulneſs to my King, and *aſſured* my ſelf of that change and revolution, which I ſo *ſpeedily* expected to come to paſs.

And ſo I continued there in *Llanlechyd* in that *poor* condition until his Majeſty, that now is, was upon his march towards *Worceſter*; at which time Sir *Gruffith Williams*, my very good friend and *Landlord*, being Sheriff, deſired me to *preach* at the Aſſizes in *Conwey* before the Judges; and the *whole Country* knows how *boldly* and freely I ſhewed them their duty, *now* to manifeſt their *Loyalty* and love to his Majeſty, whom God had thus *graciouſly* brought unto their dores; ſo that *Courtney* the then Governour of *Beanmareſh*, coming to Town after Sermon, and *hearing* what I had preached, did *exceedingly* fret, and chafe, and chide with the *Judges*, becauſe that they would hear *ſuch* a man, as was ſo well known to be ſuch a *grand enemy* unto the Parliament, and concluded with the now Sir *John Carter*, the then Governour of *Conwey*, (that told me as ſoon as I had done my Sermon, but that he would not ſeem *uncivil*, he would have pluckt me *by the ears* out of the Pulpit, a fine ſight) that they ſhould clap me up in *Priſon*; but I hearing of it, did *immediately*, as faſt as ever I could get my horſe, and *poſted* away, as it were upon *Pegaſus*, to hide my ſelf from thoſe then *tyrannous* whelps of *Cerberus*; the ſame *Carter*, being the man, that (when I was preaching at *Llan Sannam*, and another whelp of the ſame litter, roſe up, and *contradicted* all that I had ſaid, and cauſed me to be *plucke* out of the Pulpit, and ſuch a *tumult* to ariſe, that *I* feared *much ſlaughter* would be committed, and that I ſhould be *torn* all to pieces; and when ſome of the *Gentlemen* of the Pariſh, at the Quarter Seſſions in *Ruthen*, would have indicted the fellow that diſturbed me in my Sermon) ſaid, they ſhould rather *indict* me for preaching contrary to the *order* now ſet forth, than him that had ſo *juſtly* hindered me; ſo I was only *blamed*, and he *acquitted* by the juſtice of Sir *John Carter*.

After this I continued in my *poor* houſe untill *I* had finiſhed my *Great Antichriſt*, and then *I* ſhewed it to very many of my friends, whom *I* durſt truſt, both in *Ireland* and *Wales*, and told them

them *when* (according to the Propheſies of the Scripture, that I had collected and was fully perſwaded of the truth thereof) his now Majeſty ſhould be reſtored, and I carried it to *London* to be printed, and left it with my old friend, that had printed my *Beſt Religion*, Mr *Stevens*, and he ſhewing it to ſome of his friends, *Presbyterians* I conceive, to have their *opinion* of it, and ſome of them anſwered it ſomewhat large, and Mr. *Stevens* delivered the ſame to me, and the concluſion was, *the printing of it is like to be much to the damage of the Printer, and the ruin of the Author*, (*if he be found out*) *and little credit, in my opinion, is ſo like to gain thereby*. So Mr. *Stevens* durſt not *venter* to print it by any means ; yet, if I could have had *any other* to print it, I would have done it, and reſolved to have *fled* into the Low Countries when it had been done ; but it could not be, that *any Stationer* would venture to do it ; ſo I went to *Wales*.

The anſwer and the anſwerers opinion of the printing of it, I have by me to this day.

But when I heard that Sir *George Booth* was riſen in *Cheſhire* ; and was ſo *near* the time that I expected and *foreſhewed* his Majeſties reſtauration, I took a *young Philly* that I had of three years old, and in a very cold ſnow and froſt in *January*, I went ſoft and fair towards *London*, hoping that now, ſo *many men* looking after the coming in of our King, and Collonel *Monk* expected to aſſiſt him, I ſhould have my *Great Antichriſt* publiſhed ; yet ſtill the *Rump* was ſo ſtrong, that it could not be : therefore I was fain to *retire* towards *Wales* again ; and going from my houſe by *Toceſter*, where I had left my *Mare*, ſome ten miles, in a *froſty* morning, a foot, I afterwards went a horſe-back, but had not rid one *quarter* of a mile, but my *Mare*, whom all my Neighbours there ſaid ſhe was *great with foal*, lay down under me ; and I, fearing ſhe would *caſt* her Foale, and ſo perhaps *loſe* my Mare, or forced to *leave* her behind me, was reſolved to *lead* her in my hand ; and ſo I did from that place, which was *Daintry*, to my *houſe* in *Wales*, about ſeven ſcore miles, the way being *ſomewhat fair* in the latter end of *March*.

Then, having ſome occaſions to go to *Ireland*, being at *Holy Head*, I had notice with the *Poſt*, from *London*, that the Parliament, according as I found in Scripture, had *voted* the coming in of the King, and I, landing in *Dublin* about ſeven

of the Clock the next morning, being *Sunday*, preached at St. *Brides*, and publickly prayed for *the King*, I am ſure the *firſt man* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and the next morning went towards *Kilkenny*, and going to *Donmore*, to preſent my ſervice to my Lady of *Ormond*, I found her, as ſhe was ever, the *moſt honourable* of all the Ladies that ever I knew, and taking me *aſide*, informed me of the ſtate of *Kilkenny*, and of all things thereabouts; ſo I went to *Kilkenny* and preached there, and *publickly prayed* for his Majeſty, the *next* Sunday after I had done the like at *Dublin*, and then haſted back to *Dublin*, and from thence, without ſtay, to *Holy Head*, and reſting but one night in mine own houſe, I rode as faſt as I could to *London*, and having left all the Lands that I had in *Ireland*, in pawn for 100 *li.* which mine own ſelf carried to *London*, I agreed for the Printing of my *Great Antichriſt*, and *immediately* after his Majeſties happy arrival in *London*, having the ſame printed in *three Printing-houſes*, and *my ſelf* paying for the printing of it with *ready money*, I got it *preſently* done, and preſented it to his Majeſty, who very *graciouſly* accepted thereof.

But one of my Countrymen had begg'd of his Majeſty the *Deanery of Bangor*; yet, when I informed his Majeſty, that my good King and *gracious Maſter*, his Father, had conferred it upon me, to hold it *in commendum*, ſo firm as *Law* could make it; his Majeſty was *moſt graciouſly* pleaſed preſently to ſend to Sir *Edward Nicholas* to *recall* the Grant that he had made to Mr. *Lloyd*, but the ſame being paſt to the *Great Seal*, my *Lord Chancellour*, to whom I ever was *very much* obliged, knowing my *Faithfulneſs* to my late King and beſt Maſter, and my *ſufferings* for him, did *moſt honourably* ſtop it, before I could come unto his Lordſhip; and ſo by his *Majeſty* and my Lord *Chancellours* goodneſs, I ſtill enjoyed my Maſters favour.

Then, things being *ſomewhat* ſetled, I went to live upon my Biſhoprick, in *Kilkenny*, where I found the *Cathedral* Church and the *Biſhops houſe* all ruined, and nothing ſtanding but the *bare walls*, without *Roofs*, without *Windows*, but the holes, and without *doors*; yet I reſolved *preſently* to mend and repair *one Room*, and to live in the *Biſhops houſe*, and as I had vowed, that

if

if I ſhould ever come to my Biſhoprick, I ſhould *wholly* and *fully* beſtow the *firſt years* profit for the reparation of the Church, ſo my witneſs is in heaven, that I have done it; and have ſince beſtowed more, as forty pound the laſt Summer for repairing the Steeple of the Cathedral,* and yet a thouſand pounds more will not ſufficiently repair that Church, which I vowed to beſtow, If I recover the Biſhops houſe, and live to it; and a great deal of coſt more I laid out upon the *Biſhops houſe*. Yet now began my *Oppreſſion*, which grieves me much more than my *Perſecution*, becauſe my perſecution was *perſonal*, and concerned my ſelf *alone*: but mine *Oppreſſion* doth now reach to the *diſhonour* of God, and the robbing of *Jeſus Chriſt* of his ſervice, and the *deſtruction* of his Servants; when as the Church of Chriſt cannot be *ruled* without Governours, nor *inſtructed* without Teachers, and neither of them can *ſubſiſt* without maintenance.

* And this Summer ſix ſcore pounds for to make a Bell, worth they ſay 200*l*.

And yet now *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, Souldiers and Citizens and all, think no *Bread* ſo ſweet, no *Wine* ſo pleaſant as that which they *ſnatch* from the *Altar*, and no *Land* ſo fertile as that which they hold from the *Church*, and keep it by *force* from the Church-men; and to give you a *taſte* of this truth, I have printed a *Narrative* and a true Relation of a *Law proceeding*, betwixt my ſelf and Sir *George Ayſkue*, a civil Gentleman, I confeſs, and one that hath been *Vice-Admiral* to the Long Parliament, but now is *very faithful* to our preſent King, and *ſorry* for what he hath been, as I *verily* believe, and is a man of a *very fair* carriage, and of very good parts; yet bewitched with the *diſguiſed ſpirit* of Sacriledge, to hold faſt in his hands the *Lands* of the Church, and not only he, but *many others* are ſick of the ſame diſeaſe, as appeareth by the *ſubſequent* of this relation.

A true Relation of a Law-proceeding, betwixt the Right Reverend Father in God, *Griffith* L. Biſhop of *Oſſory*, and Sir *George Ayſkue*, Knight, *&c.*

Sheweth,

THat the Lordſhip of *Biſhops Court*, *alias* upper Court, belongs to the Biſhop of *Oſſory:* And as I am informed, *Jo. Bale* Biſhop of *Oſſory* dwelt in the Mannor houſe thereof, and was from thence driven by the *Tories* in Queen *Maries* daies, to flee to *Geneva* to ſave his life; when he, looking out at his Window, ſaw his *Steward*, that was, with his Hay-makers, killed before his face; and he being fled to *Geneva*, *Jo. Tonery* was made Biſhop of *Oſſory*, and he made away divers Lordſhips, and among the reſt, this Biſhops Court in *Fee-farm*, as they pretend, to one *Rich. Shea*, Biſhop *Bale* being yet alive, and lived in Queen *Elizabeths* daies; after, *Tonery* came Biſhop *Gafney*, and Biſhop *Bale* ſtill alive; and after *Gafney*, came Biſhop *Walſh*, and he finding the *invalidity* of the *Fee farmes* made by the Popiſh Biſhops, while the right Biſhop was alive, petitioneth to Queen *Elizabeth*, and had her Letters to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, to hear the *Cauſe*, and to relieve the Biſhop according as they found the *equity* of his Cauſe, but before he could have any *redreſs*, he was killed by ſome *Iriſh* man (to prevent the recovery of the ſaid Lordſhip, as it is conceived) in his own houſe; After that, came Biſhop *Deane*, and he vigorouſly proſecutes the recovery of the ſaid Lordſhip, and he had not done *much* more then begun, but he dieth: Then came Biſhop *Wheeler*, and he petitioneth to my Lord of *Strafford* for the ſaid Lordſhip of *Biſhops Court*, and by the *great* care and deſire of the now moſt Reverend *Primate* of all *Ireland*, to benefit the Church of Chriſt, Biſhop *Wheeler* had the Lordſhip of *Frenis-Town*, (that was one of the *pretended* Fee-farms made by *Tonery*, and formerly yielded the Biſhop but 4 *li.* yearly, and doth now yield 50 *li.* every year) yielded up

unto

unto him; ſo that *Shea* might ſtill continue in the *Biſhops Court*; and when *Wheeler* died, my *gracious* King, and good Maſter, *Charles the Firſt*, commended me to the Biſhoprick of *Oſſory*, then came the *Rebellion*, and I was driven to flee before I had received *one Penny* from my Biſhoprick, or had continued two Moneths therein; but bleſſed be God for it, I was reſtored by our now moſt gracious King; and having an Order from the moſt Honourable Houſe of Lords, to be put into the *poſſeſſion* of all the Houſes and Lands of the Biſhop of *Oſſory*, that the laſt Biſhop died *ſeized* of, the Sheriffe of the County of *Kilkenny* did put me, among divers other places, into the poſſeſſion of the ſaid *Biſhops Court*, and the Tenants *attourned* Tenants unto me, and continued from the day of *April* until the 8th. day of *October* following, 1662. at which time, one Captain *Burges*, and divers others, *Anabaptiſts* and Sectaries. the Tenants of Sir *George Ayſkue*, that *never* come into the Church, yet came into the Biſhops Houſe, and thence *expelled* the Biſhop and his Tenants, from his *poſſeſſion*. And I, the Biſhop *hearing* of it, went *thither* my ſelf, with two men and my Chaplain Mr. *Thomas Bulkley*; and finding the door *open*, I and my Chaplain went in, and one of them, that kept the poſſeſſion, affronted and *juſtled* me at the door of the Loft, to hinder my entrance in, and yet I got in; and then *more and more* came into the Room, to the number of 9 or 10 perſons: And ſome of them, eſpecially *Captain Burges*, vilified and *threatned* me to the *fear* of my Life, and ſome did ſhut the *Iron* Grate, and locked it, as I conceived, to keep me there for their *Priſoner*, and to hinder my two ſervants, that I had ſent with my horſes to *Freſhfoord*, to come in; and when they demanded if they meant to *murder* their Lord, and deſired to come in, one of them, that had a *Cudgel* in his hand, ſaid, that if he *offered* to come in there, he would *knock* him in the head; and my man anſwered him with the like *menaces*, and I, hearing of their *high* threats, and fearing what *miſchief* might fall out there, ſent a *peremptory* command to my men, to go home, and let what *death* ſoever pleaſed God, come to me; but, after that I got *liberty* to go unto mine own houſe, I called a *private* Seſſions,

Seſſions, and Indicted *Will. Portis*, *Tho. Collins*, *Jo. Raymon*, *Joſias Scot*, *Will. Burges*, for their *forcible entry*; but the Indictment, being removed by a *Certiorari* to the Kings Bench, though I had retained *two Counſellors*, and gave them twenty ſhillings for their Fee, to do things *right*, and according to Law, yet through the *errour* of the Clerke, there were *ſome faults* found in the Indictment, and ſo the ſame was *quaſht* by the Judges of the Kings Bench: Then I got the *beſt Attourney* that I thought was in *Dublin*, and is ſo *reputed* by all my friends, to draw me *another Indictment* againſt the foreſaid *forcible enterers*; and being drawn, I carried it to Sir *William Donvil*, the Kings *Attorney*, and gave him his Fee to *review* it, and mend it, if any thing was amiſs in it, and make it ſo, as it might ſtand *good* in Law, the which thing, he *very carefully* did, and amended *ſome* things with his own hands: And I knew not what I could or ſhould do *more*, to draw a *good* Indictment.

Then I deſired the *Juſtices* of the Peace, to ſend *a precipe*, to the Sheriffe to ſummon a Jury to examine the *force*, which they did, upon the ſaid place, where the *force* was committed.

And, though Sir *George Ayſkue* had for his Attorney, Mr. *Smith*, the now *High Sheriffe* of the County of the City of *Kilkenny*, and Mr. *Johnſon*, the Recorder of the City of *Kilkenny* for his Counſellour, to *plead* againſt the finding of the Indictment true, as much as ever they could, and *another* Counſellour ſtood againſt it, as *much*, or *more* than either of them both; and I had neither Atturney nor Counſellour to ſay any thing for it, but what the *Witneſſes* proved; yet the Jury did *preſently* find it *Billa Vera*.

Then I deſired the Juſtices of the Peace to reſtore me to my *Poſſeſſion*, but to prevent the ſame, Mr. *Smith*, Sir *George Ayſkues* Atturney, having a *Certiorari* ready in his Pocket, did *immediately*, as ſoon as ever the Jury had brought in their Verdict, deliver the ſame into the hands of the *Juſtices* of the Peace, and they delivered it to the *Clerk* of the Peace, and the Juſtices ſaid, that now they could not *reſtore* me to my Poſſeſſion, becauſe that their hands were *ſtopt*, and all the proceedings muſt be *tranſmitted* to the Kings Bench, by *Octab. Hillarii*.

And

And when I came to *Kilkenny*, I went to the *Clerk* of the Peace, and examined the *ſame* Indictment, which the Jury found (and which I had done before) *ad amuſſim*, very diligently, with *that Copy*, which the Kings Atturney had *amended*, and averred to be ſufficient; and I prayed the *Clerke* of the Peace, to give me a *Copy* of that Indictment, which the Jury found, the which he did under his hand, and I examined *all* again, and found them in all things to be *verbatim*, word for word agreeable one to another.

Then by *Octab. Hillarii*, the time *ſet*, to return the proceedings to the Kings Bench, I went to *Dublin*: But there was no Indictment *returned*; ſtill I expected, but ſtill in vain; At laſt I complained to the Lords Juſtices; but they anſwered, that they could not *help* it, for they *knew* not, whether the *Certiorari* was delivered or not: At laſt, ſeeing it was neither *returned*, nor *like* to be returned, I was adviſed to make *Affidavit*, that I had *ſeen* it delivered into the hands of the Juſtices of the Peace, and that I *heard* it read, and then ſaw it delivered to the *Clerke* of the Peace; and then upon the reading of my *Affidavit*, and a *motion* made by my *Counſel* thereupon; there was an *Order* ſet down, that there ſhould be 20 *l.* fine ſet upon the *Clerke* of the Peace, if the proceedings and the *Indictment* came not in by ſuch a day; So, at laſt, it came in, but it was the *laſt day* of the Term that it came into the Court; and then the Kings *Sergeant* moved for my *poſſeſſion*; but the Counſel, on the other ſide, *pleaded*, that there was an *errour* in the ſaid Indictment; and being ſomewhat *long* in alledging the Caſes of *A.* and *B.* and of *John an Oakes* and *John a Stile*, the *Lord Chief Juſtice* told him, it was the *laſt day* of the Term, and Motions were to be heard: Therefore ſeeing they could not *bear out* the Matter now, they ſhould ſhew *cauſe* by the ſecond day of the next Term why *poſſeſſion* ſhould not be reſtored.

Then I thought this was to keep me *long enough* out of my Poſſeſſion, and to let Sir *George Aiſkue* have *one half* years rent more, to the *two half* years Rent that he had already, ſince I was driven out of my Poſſeſſion, and to let his Counſel have *time e nough* added, to what they had already, to pick as many holes

holes as they could *find*, or could *make* in mine Indictment, but, considering that, as the Poet saith, *Levius fit patientia quicquid corrigere est nefas*, I went away, and said nothing.

But upon the second day of the *next* Term, which was appointed for the *hearing* of it, the Kings *Atturney* moved for possession, and the Counsel of the other side began to plead the *errours* of the Indictment, but the pleading was *presently* put off, and it was prosecuted the next day: The Kings Atturney being not there; and the main errour, that was of any moment, and which was neither seen nor toucht the Term before by Sir *George* his Counsel; (for all *other things* alledged, as my Counsel said, were but *trifles*, & could *easily* be answered) was, that in the Indictment it was said, *Per Sacramentum quindecem virorum*, whereas it should be *Per Sacramentum proborum & legalium hominum comitatus Kilken. predict. extitit. presentat.* which words were *all* left out of the Indictment, and the other words put in the room of them; Then I stood up and said, I was *certain*, the words *quindecim virorum* were not in the Indictment that was found by the Jury, and that *all the other words* were in it; because that *my self* had examined it, and *read* it, and had likewise a *Copy* of it, under the hand of the *Clerk* of the Peace, which was examined with the *Original* by my self: And I offered in open Court to make *Oath* of all this; but the Lords Justices answered, that they could not proceed but according to *the Record*, that was *returned* to the Court, which they must conceive to be the *true Record*; And I answered, That I hoped they would not judge according to *that Record*, which I would *swear* was false and corrupted, and not the *true Record*, nor according to the Record that was found by the Jury; yet I could not prevail to have the *Clerke* of the Peace sent for, and to bring the *original Record* to be shewed in the Court, therefore by the *next day* I brought this *Affidavit* in writing:

THe *Right Reverend Father in God*, Griffith, *Lord Bishop of* Ossory, *this day made oath before me, that he had sundry times perused the original Indictment and Record of Forcible Entry found by a Jury of the County of* Kilkenny, *upon the* 18th *day of* December

ber *laſt paſt, againſt the ſaid Defendants in the Cuſtody of one* Nicholas Halpenny, *who as is alledged is either Clerk, or Deputy Clerk of the Peace for the ſaid County, and that the ſaid Indictment and Record being removed into this Court Purſuant to his Majeſties Writ of* Certiorari, *this Deponent did peruſe the ſaid Record ſo tranſmitted by the ſaid* Halpenny, *and doth find upon view and examination thereof, that there are ſundry Circumſtantial and ſubſtantial words, which are in the ſaid original Indictment found by the Grand Jury omitted to be returned; and as this Deponent believes and remembers other words are inſerted therein by the Clerk that returned or drew up the ſame. He further depoſed, That before the Record was returned into this Court, he had a Copy of the ſaid Original atteſted under the hand of the ſaid* Halpenny, *which he doth find upon examination to be different from the Record now lodged in this Court, by vertue of the ſaid* Certiorari, *and that as this Deponent is credibly informed, and verily believeth, the ſaid* Certiorari *and Record now returned was for the ſpace of one month, or thereabouts, in* Dublin *detained in the hands of Mr.* Patrick Lambert, *who is ſaid to be* Atturney *for Sir* George Ayſcue *Knight, the pretended Proprietor of the premiſes in the Indictment contained, before ſuch time as he returned the ſame, and that this Deponent could not have the ſaid Record returned ere that he had by the Court a conditional fine impoſed upon the Clerk of the Peace, or his Deputy for his neglect in not returning thereof.*

And then my Counſel moved, that it might be *read*, and ſo it was: And I ſhewed to their Lordſhips what *great wrong* and abuſe this was to me, and an injury to his Majeſty, to have the Record *falſified* and corrupted, and proteſted in the *open Court*, that, *ſo long as I could either ſpeak or go*, I would not ſuffer *this abuſe* to paſs *unexamined*, and at laſt, with much ado, I got the Lords Juſtices, to grant their *Writ*, to enjoyn the *Clerke* of the Peace, to appear upon the Saturday following, to anſwer ſuch things as ſhould be objected againſt him *ſub pœna c. librarum.* at which time he came; and I went with him to my Lord *Chief Juſtice* his houſe, to ſhew him the *original Record*, and how it was *falſely* tranſcribed, and not according to that, which was brought

into the Court; but my Lord *Chief Juſtice* ſeeming, as I conceived, *ſomewhat angry*, ſaid, he would hear *nothing*, nor, ſee *any thing*, but what ſhould be ſhewed *in Court*; and then the *Clerke* of the Peace came with me to the *Court*, and when he was called, he confeſſed the *truth*, that the *Record tranſmitted* to the Court, was not according to the *original Record*, but was *falſely* written by his Clerke, that he *truſted* to write it, altogether unknown to him; then my Counſel moved, that the Record might be *amended* according to the *original Record*; but the Lords Juſtices anſwered, that they could not *alter* the Record brought into the Court: And the Kings Sollicitor, Mr. *Temple*, very *honeſtly* replied, they might, if they *pleaſed*, have it amended, for that, in ſuch a caſe, ſome *errour* or miſtake was found in an Indictment in the time of *one Clerke* of the Peace, and it was *ordered* to be amended *pro rege* in the time of *another Clerke* of the Peace; the Lord Chief Juſtice anſwered, this Indictment was brought into the Court the *laſt Term*, and therefore it could not be amended *this Term*. Then I replied, It ſhould have been brought in in the *beginning* of the laſt Term, but it was *concealed* till the *laſt* day of the laſt Term, and this errour *then* was neither ſeen nor ſpoken of; and how could we *move* then, to have it *amended*, before we knew the *falſhood* and corrupting of it, which was no waies perceived till this time? Yet, for all that I could *ſay* or *do*, I could not *prevail* to have the Record *amended*, according to the *original Record*. And when I ſaw that, I deſired my Counſel, to deſire their Lordſhips, *either* to grant that it might be *amended*, or to *quaſh* it out of hand, that I ſhould not ſpend my ſelf in *Dublin*, but go to begin a freſh, and to indict them *again*; and then my Lord Chief Juſtice anſwered, ſeeing we deſired to *quaſh* it, let it be *quaſht*; which, in reſpect of the Kings fine, I conceived, ſhould not be done, if the original Indictment, found by the Jury, was *good*. Then I got the Kings Sollicitor, Mr. *Temple*, and the Kings *Sergeant*, Sergeant *Griffith*, and Mr. *Darcy*, to draw me an Indictment, that would ſtand *good* in Law; and preſently I went to *Kilkenny*, and required the *Juſtices* of the peace to ſend their *precipe*, to the Sheriff, to ſummon 24 men to appear at *Freſhfoord* the 23 of the inſtant, which they did accordingly;

ingly; and the *Deputy Sheriff* appointed theſe *Gentlemen* to be ſummoned,

Nom. Jur. ad inquirend.

John Grace of *Courtſtowne*, Eſq;	*Matthew White*, Gent.
Jonas Wheeler, Gent.	*William Hunter*, Gent.
Rich. Donvil, Gent.	*Thomas Green*, Gent.
William Davies, Gent.	*Vincent Knatchbul*, Gent.
Walter Buſhop, Gent.	*Ric. Comerford* of *Dogenmore*, G.
Walter Noſſe, Gent.	*Tho. Bowers* of *Knoclopher*, G.
John Purſel, Gent.	*Emanuel Palmer*, Gent.
William Pay, Gent.	*Mathias Reilegh*, Gent.
William White, Gent.	*Chri. Auetſtone* of *Thomaſtone*.
Ralph Hale. Gent.	*Tho. Huſſie* of *Gowrons*, Gent.
Lewis Mathews, Gent.	*Toby Boyle* of *Condonſtown*, Gent.
Robert Grace, Gent.	*Tho. Tomlins* of *Lyniate* Abby.
George Lodge, Gent.	*Joſeph Wheeler* of *Killruſh*.
Edmund Butler, Gent.	*George Barton* of *Goſlingſtown*, G.

But before the Bayliffs were gone to ſummon them, the High Sheriff was come to the Town, and ſeeing the *Liſt* of the Subſcribed, and having *conferred* with Sir *George Ayſcue*, that lay in the next Room where the Sheriff lay, he ſaid *thoſe men* ſhould not ſerve in the Jury, but he would *chooſe* a Jury for this buſineſs, and he nominated ſuch men: *Anabaptiſts*, *Presbyterians*, and others of the moſt *rigid Sectaries*, that were in all the whole County: Yet becauſe I knew *two* or three of them to be *very honeſt* men, I was very well *contented* with them. But as ſoon as ever I was gone from the Sheriff, thoſe men were put by, and other Sectaries put into the *Liſt* in their ſtead *. And the *Bailiff* coming to me for *more money* then I had given him, for ſummoning thoſe that the *Deputy Sheriff* had appointed, becauſe *now*, the High Sheriff had appointed men, that he had *picked* out over all the County of *Kilkenny*: Then I ſuſpected ſome *evil* determined againſt me, and I deſired the *Bayliff*, to ſhew me the *Liſt* of thoſe, that he was to ſummon, and when I ſaw thoſe *honeſt men* that I knew, put out, and *others* put in their room, I put the

* A Jury as my friends, that knew them, ſaid would hang all the Biſhops in *Ireland*, if they were their Jury to try them.

Warrant in my Pocket, and bad the *Bayliff* tell the Sheriff, that my *Witneſſes* for the King were not ready; and after he told this to the *Sheriff*, he came to me again *weeping* and crying, and deſired me for *Gods ſake* to give him his *Warrant*: For the Sheriff was very *angry* with him, and he was *utterly* undone, for ſhewing me the Warrant, but I kept it ſtill in my Pocket.

And thus was I ſerved, with a great deal of *travel* and charge above 60 *li.* in ſeeking to recover the *Church* Lands, which I reſolved and vowed if I could *recover* it, to beſtow it *wholly* for the repairing and re-edifying of the flat-fallen Church of *Kilkenny*: And now, let the Judge of *all the World*, and let all *juſt* and *honeſt* men judge, whether this be *a fair and juſt proceeding*.

But *quorſum hæc*? To what *purpoſe* is all this pains of this *Relation*? Is it to taxe and charge the *Reverend Judges* either of injuſtice or partiality? No, By no means: I taxe *no man*; but I ſet down *rem geſtam* the whole matter *a capite ad calcem*; and they, the *Judges* and *Counſellours*, being *great Lawyers* may find all this to be *juſt*; and eſpecially, to make it *ſeem* ſo to be; and though for all cheating Pettifoggers and covetous Counſellours, that againſt the dictate of their own conſciences, and againſt their King and againſt the Church of God, will, for a Fee, ſell their ſouls unto the devil; I hate their doings that are *Sicut atri janua ditis*: Yet I do from my heart *honour* and reverence all the grave and *juſt* Judges, and *Learned* Lawyers, without whoſe *help* and Counſel and Judgment, we could not *live* in this Commonwealth. And though I *failed* at the Kings Bench, to prevail to procure thoſe *Fines* unto the King, which I conceived ſhould be *impoſed* upon thoſe five that I indicted, (whereof the *chief* of them, that is, Captain *Burges* is now ſent *Priſoner* to *Dublin*, by my Lord of *Oſſory*, which may be a *juſt Judgement*, that he ſhould be committed by my *Lord of Oſſory* for his abuſe done to the *Biſhop of Oſſory*,) yet I have had very *fair Juſtice* done me, by the *Judges* of the Court of Claim, and I am confident, to find *the like* from them again, and to be righted by the Judges of the *Court of Exchequer* * for the wrongs and *damages* that I ſuſtained by thoſe that *forcibly* entered upon my Poſſeſſions, and do ſtill

* And ſo likewiſe from the Kings Bench and Common Pleas.

ſtill detain it from me, when I ſhall bring the *cauſe* before them. Therefore I have *no reaſon* for the biting of a *mad* Dog, to hang all the *good* Dogs in the Countrey, or for the abuſe or injuſtice done me by ſome one man or few Lawyers, to exclaim againſt *all others*, when as the Poet adviſeth us, *Parcere paucorum diffundere crimen in omnes*. But I do *exceedingly* tax my ſelf, and mine own *underſtanding*, that underſtanding both Greek and Latine, and having read what *Lambert*, *Bolton* and *Dalton* have written of *Forcible Entries*, I ſhould be ſuch a *Dolt*, as not to underſtand *this Proceeding* of mine, about the *Indictment* of thoſe *Forcible Enterers* to be a *juſt* and a fair Proceeding.

Therefore mine apprehenſion conceiving ſuch proceedings to be *foul*, and very much amiſs, and that the *juſtice* which I had, upon the whole matter, had not what *Pindarus* ſaith *Juſtice* uſeth to have, that is, χρύσεον ὄμμα, καὶ χρύσεον προσωπον, I thought *good*, to ſet down the *ſame*, not to *accuſe*, and complain againſt any one for being unjuſt, or to ſeek any *redreſs* unto my ſelf; for I have *born*, and can be *contented* ſtill to bear, more wrongs than this: But I do it for theſe ends.

1. To let *poor men* ſee, how they may be *wronged* and oppreſſed, and have their Land and *Poſſeſſions* taken from them by *great* and powerful men, and what they are beſt to do in ſuch a caſe; and my counſel is, to be *patient*, becauſe as I ſaid before, *Levius fit patientia quicquid corrigere eſt nefas*, and as our Saviour ſaith, *If any man ſue thee for thy Coat, let him have thy Cloak alſo*; So I ſay, if any *great man*, that hath a great *Place*, or great *Friends*, take away thy *Lands*, let him take away thy Houſe alſo, rather then ſpend thy *Money*, and loſe that with thy Lands; for as Chriſt ſaith, *If theſe things be done to the green tree*, what ſhall be done *to the dry*? So if theſe Proceedings *paſs* againſt *me*, that can both *ſpeak* and follow my buſineſſe to the *uttermoſt*, and, I thank God have *ability* to go through with it, what ſhall become of *thee*, and thy *Cauſe*, that art a *poor* man, when thou ſwimmeſt againſt the *ſtream*, and kickeſt againſt the *pricks*?

Therefore I *adviſe* thee, rather in ſuch a caſe, to cry to *God*, than complain to any Judge, leſt that as the Poet ſaith, *Exceſ-*

ſit

ſit medicina modum, thy *remedy* will prove worſe than thy *diſeaſe*. For thou ſeeſt how I am *ſerved*, put out of my *Houſe*, and ſpend above 60 *li.* and have *no redreſs*.

2. If this *proceeding* and dealing with me, be, as I conceive it, not *ſo fair* and ſo *juſt* as it ſhould be, both for the *King* and my ſelf, that am ejected out of my Houſe and Lands; then I conceive, His *Majeſty* and the *Parliament* ſhould, to prevent the *like Oppreſſion* and wrongs to poor men, provide an *eaſier* and plainer way to *relieve* the oppreſſed, and to ſet down an uſual Form of Indictment, or to cauſe that the *Indictments* ſhould not be ſo *eaſily* and ſo *frequently*, upon every Lawyers motion, *quaſht*, as they are reported to be: Eſpecially when the matter of *Force* is plain and evidently proved. And this redreſs of Injuries I petition and *move* for, for theſe four ſpecial reaſons.

1. Becauſe the *difficulty* of framing the Indictments ſo, that a cunning Lawyer cannot *eaſily* find a fault, and a flaw in it, and then the *frequent* quaſhing of ſuch Indictments, as are found faulty, is a great wrong to his *Majeſty*, in depriving him of thoſe Fines that otherwiſe are *due*, and ſhould be *rendered* unto him.

2. It is a *great Abuſe* and injury unto the poor *Subject*, that ſhall be driven out of his *Poſſeſſion*, and, for want of a *ſufficient* Clerke or Counſellour to draw the *right form* of his Indictment, (which as I ſee few can do) he ſhall both ſpend his *Money*, and loſe his *labour*; and perhaps, he is not *able* to do as I did, three or four times to draw Indictments, till he finds one that may ſtand good.

3. This *frequent* quaſhing of Indictments is a great *encouragement* for Oppreſſors, and wicked men to *wrong* their neighbours more and more; for ſay they, I will enter upon him and thruſt him out, and if he doth *indite* me, I will remove it to the Kings Bench, and I ſhall find a Lawyer that will *quaſh* his Indictment by and by.

4. This *very practiſe* and proceeding may be feared to prove the very *bane* and deſtruction of whole Nations and Kingdoms: For if Righteouſneſs *exalteth a Nation*, and a Kingdom is tranſlated

ſlated from one Nation to another People, *becauſe of unrighteouſneſs*, as *Solomon* ſaith, and as we may read it in all Hiſtories. Then you may ſee how requiſite it is, for Kings and Princes, to look to thoſe things, and not to ſuffer *unrighteous Judges*, either for *favour* to one, or *hatred* to another, to do what they liſt, and to make their Laws like a *Noſe of Wax*, to bend which way they pleaſe, or like a *Spiders Web*, that catcheth the *ſmall Flies*, but is broken, by the great *humble Bees*, all to pieces; but to be like the Chancellour *Steel*, that although he hated my perſon, yet, he ſaid, though I deſerved it not, I ſhould have Juſtice, and ſo he did me Juſtice preſently, and I love to do right to my Adverſary, and to ſay the truth of mine enemy.

But for my ſelf, I thank God for it, as I lived *many years* very quietly and contentedly with far *leſs means* then 20 *li.* a year, and with far leſs pains and troubles then I have now, ſo I doubt not, but I could live ſo ſtill; and I reſolved and vowed, as I have atteſted in my Epiſtle to his *Majeſty*, that, if I ſhould recover this *Biſhops Court* unto the Church, I would *wholly* and *fully* beſtow the ſame for the repairing of the *Cathedral* Church of *Kilkenny*: So that *recovering* it, I ſhould not be one Penny the richer, or *not recovering* it, not a Penny the poorer; and ſo the wrong done by this *Proceeding*, whoſoever did it, is, as I conceive, more againſt the *King* and the *Church* than againſt my ſelf. And if the *Proviſo* for Sir *George Ayſkue* carrieth this *Biſhops Court* to him from the *Church*, which in my underſtanding is clean *contrary* to the very words of the Act, *pag.* 72. Let him pray that he hith it not with that *Sauce* which God preſcribeth in *Pſal.* 83. And ſo I end, and ſo be it, as God pleaſeth,

Amen.

And after I had *delivered* this ſame Relation unto his Majeſty, and ſhewed the *Effect* and ſum thereof, by the next day I gave him this *Petition*.

To the Kings Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The Humble Petition of *Gruffith*, Lord Biſhop of *Oſſory*,

Sheweth,

THat your Petitioner hath cauſed five of the Tenants of Sir George Ayskew to be twice Indited for a forcible Entry upon the Houſe and Lands of the Biſhop of Oſſory, and yet your Petitioner with the Expence of above 60 *l.* could not prevail to have them puniſhed as the Law requireth, whereby your Majeſty is wronged in not receiving the Fines that ſhould be impoſed upon them for that offence, and your Petitioner is abuſed, in being ſtill kept out of his Poſſeſſion, to about 300 *l.* Damages.

May it therefore pleaſe your Majeſty to write to the Duke of Ormond, *or to the Parliament, to ſee that the former Proceedings may be reviewed, and that your Petitioner may be relieved according to Juſtice.*

And your Petitioner ſhall ever pray, *&c.*

And my Lords Grace of *Canterbury* very graciouſly, and like a moſt *Religious* Father and Countenancer of the Fathers of the Church, going with me to *deliver it* to his Majeſty, and to let him underſtand the *ſubſtance* of it, ſaid, here is the good Biſhop of *Oſſory* (ſo his Grace was pleaſed beyond my Deſarts, to ſtile me) that hath a very *reaſonable* Petition to your Majeſty, and telling him the *ſums* of it, his Majeſty, like a *moſt Pious King*, moſt graciouſly anſwered, *I will do it with all my heart*: and my Lords Grace ſent for Secretary *Benet*, and he drew me this his Majeſties *Anſwer* the next day.

Whitehal,

Whitehal, July 16th. 1663.

His Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed effectually to recommend the Conſideration of this Petition to his Grace the Duke of Ormond, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, *to the end his Grace may* forthwith *take care, to ſettle and eſtabliſh the Petitioner in his Right, and that ſuch who diſturb him may be puniſhed according to Law.*

I know not *what more* I could have deſired; his Majeſty herein doing *more* then I deſired: And when I was *very willing* to have given 5 *l.* in Gold for Sir *Henry Bennets* Fee, that moſt *Courteous* Gentleman, Mr. *Quod-dolphin*, ſaid, I ſhould not pay *one penny*, but Sir *Henry* would lay that upon the *Church*, and my Lord of *Canterburies* ſcore: So fairly, and ſo *friendly* was I uſed at his Majeſties Court: The Lord *bleſs* them, and *reward* them for it; and grant them *alwaies* the like Favour a I found with them.

And when I came with his Majeſties *Reference* to my Lord Duke of *Ormond*, I found his Grace, as *honourable*, and very gracious in his *Anſwer* and Direction to me; but, when his Grace referred the *Petition* (that I drew to his Grace, to do as his Majeſty *directed*) and his Majeſties *Reference*, to the *Council-Table*, I muſt acknowledge, that I *feared* the ſucceſs, and ſo it happened according to my fear; for when I was *called* before the Council, his Grace ſaid, he was *no Lawyer*, but he left the Matter to them, to *inform* me, what was to be done *according to Law*; and my Lord *Chancellour* ſaid, that both my ſelf, in my *Relation*, and my *Lawyers* and Counſel confeſt, that the *Judges* did act, and their *Proceedings* were according to Law; and therefore I muſt even begin again, and it was my beſt courſe to proceed according to Law; and I anſwered, *if all this in my Proceedings were Law, I pray God ſend us a better Law*; for I ſhewed the *whole Proceedings* to his Majeſty, and to divers of the Judges of *England*, and they ſaid, this was a *fair proceeding indeed*, to ſet up a man of *ſtraw*, and then *ſhoot* at him, to

bring a *false* Indictment to the Court, and then *quash* it; for I proved it in the *open Court* (by the *Confession* of the Clerke of the Peace, that brought the *true Indictment* with him to the Court, and acknowledged that the other was *falsified*, either by the Clerke that he *trusted* to write it, or by some other, he knew not who:) that the Indictment brought to the Court, was not the *true Indictment*, that was found by the Jury; and so without any more words, my Lords Grace seemed to me *very graciously* to smile, and so I was dismist.

But I fear that the favour which Sir *Geo. Ayskue* finds in every place against me, may produce no good effect.

And then I called to mind the *cause* that moved me to fear the *success* I should have at the Council-Table, not *Injustice*, that I mean not. I know that they are *just*, but that the *Justice* I should have, would not be to my *advantage*, and the favour that I desired: For when I still indited the *forcible Entrers*, and still proceeded against Sir *George Ayskues* Tenants, he preferred a Petition to the *Council-Table*, about this Lordship of *Bishops Court*; and I hearing of it, *conceived* that before any thing should *be done* thereupon, I should have the *favour* to be made *acquainted* with the same Petition, that I might *answer* it, but I could hear nothing of it, until a little while after, some of the Bishops, by reason of the *power* to my L. Lieutenant and Counsel given by the *last Proviso* in the Act of settlement, *fearing* that they would alter and retrench *some* of his Majesties *Favours* and *Additionals* granted unto them, by the said Act, *petitioned* that they would not do so, but leave *all things* that concerned the Bishops, *Status quo*, as they are expressed in the Act, without *Alteration* or retrenchment; and my Lord Lieutenant and Counsel *granted* their Petition; but with this *only Proviso*, that Sir *George Ayskues* right might be preserved, that is, as I conceive, against *all* the Bishops, for that *none* is named: and this *Proviso*, of all the men in *Ireland*, is but only for Sir *George Ayskue*, and of all the Bishops in *Ireland*, it seems by all likelihood, only prejudicial to the *Bishop of Offory*: Which notwithstanding, if the *last Proviso* in the Act of Settlement, be *well* understood and *rightly* followed, can be *no prejudice* to him at all, as I conceive it; for that the *Power* given to my Lord Lieutenant and Counsel by *that Proviso*, is as I understand it,

it, a power *to alter* and retrench *any thing*, in part or in whole, which they ſhall find either *contrary* to his Majeſties Declaration, or *inconſiſtent* with, or to the *general* ſettlement of the Kingdom; and I conceive, that the ſuffering of the Biſhop of *Oſſory*, to enjoy his *own Houſe* and Lands, where the Biſhops uſed *to live* and reſide, cannot be *contrary* to his Majeſties Declaration, nor *inconſiſtent* with the *general* ſettlement of the Kingdom. And therefore I *humbly conceive*, that my Lord Lieutenant and Counſel have *no power* by that Proviſo granted unto them, to *take away* his Majeſties Grant and Favour to the Biſhop of *Oſſory*, and to ſettle the ſame upon Sir *George Ayſkue*; eſpecially if his Majeſty was deceived in his Grant to Sir *George Ayſkue*, as I verily believe he was; for his Majeſty grants him the Lands ſetled upon him for his Service in *Ireland*; and I have ſearched and examined the Matter as much as ever I could, and yet could *never* find nor underſtand *what Service* he had done in *Ireland*, that deſerved to carry away the *Houſe* and Lands of the Biſhop of *Oſſory*, or indeed of *any Service*, that he did in *Ireland* at all, either for King or Parliament.

Which are the very words in the Proviſo.

And if for all this, he carries the Biſhops *Houſe* away, I will ſing, *Adopſo Niſa datur*: and ſeeing how *many* of the Biſhops Houſes and Lands, that were by an *Order* of the Houſe of Lords, delivered to my *poſſeſſion* by the Sheriffe of the County, and were *peaceably* in my *Tenants* poſſeſſion, and paid me Rent ever ſince his Majeſties happy coming in, were *given* away, while I was in *London*, Petitioning about this Cauſe, and could not be at *Dublin*, to anſwer them that ſued for them, not *dreamed* of any Suites againſt me, and being not *able* in mine old Age (eſpecially ſeeing what Pains, Charge, and Succeſs I have hitherto had with Sir *Geo. Ayſkue*) to follow ſo *many* Suits, againſt ſo *many* men, ſo *powerful* as they are, in the *Courts* of Juſtice, at the *Council-Table*, and in all places, I will like *Balaams* Aſſe, ſo *unjuſtly* beaten, lie down under my burden, *too heavy* for me to bear, and cill and cry to God to ariſe and *maintain his own Cauſe*, and the Cauſe of his own Son *Jeſus Chriſt*.

Yet in *this Suit*, betwixt me and Sir *Geo. Ayskue*, because I have taken so *much paines*, and spent so *much Money*, (and specially because I do hate and *abhor*, that any man *, which hath fought under the Standard of the *Beast* and Long Parliament, against that *Most Pious King*, and my Most Gracious Master, *Charles the First*, should carry away the *Houses* and Lands, that Religious Princes have *dedicated* for the Honour and Service of *Jesus Christ*, for the *Reward* of that wickedness) I resolved *once more* to enter into the List, to follow my alwaies very honourable Friend, my Lord Chancellours Advice, and try the *Success* with him, by the Verdict of an *honest* Jury, and I indicted 6 of the Tenants and Servants of Sir *Geo. Ayskue*, for a forcible Entry, and 5 of them now, the *third time*; and I had six Counsellours help, to draw and compose the *Indictment*, and so to *review* it, and correct it, if any thing was *amiss* therein, that, being found *Billa Vera* by the Jury, it might so stand *good*, and not be *quashed*, as my two *former Indictments* were, by the Judges of the Kings Bench.

* I mean not Sir *G. Ayskue*, but whosoever he be.

And the 6 *forcible* Enterers being indicted, for fear lest the Record should be *falsified*, and corrupted, as the *former* indictement of them had been, I got the Clerke of the Peace, to send it *inclosed* in a Letter sealed up, by my man, to his Agent in *Dublin*, to be delivered into the *Office*, which mine Adversaries presently told to my Lord of *Santree*, and was objected as a *Piaculum*; and when the Record came to the Court, my *Lord Chief Justice* said upon the Bench, that my Lord Bishop had *abused the Court*, to whom I replied, that I had *not abused the Court*, for that I had set down nothing but the *Truth*, and was as *loath* as any man, to offer the *least Abuse* to any of his Majesties *Courts*, or *Judges* of his Courts; And after my Lord Chief Justice and my self had *conferred* together, I found him my very *honourable* Friend, and I retained three of the Kings *Counsel* to follow the *said Cause* for his Majesty, and the Counsellours of the Fanaticks failing to *quash* the Indictment, my Lord *Chief Justice* told them, they must either *submit*, or be bound to prosecute their Traverse; and they became bound in 200 *l.* to prosecute the same upon the 10th. day of Easter

Meaning, as I conceived, by the Relation that I had printed of the former Proceedings.

Eaſter Term, which was the ſixth day of *May*. And when, upon that day the *Jury* were ſworn, *viz. William Baker* of *Ballytobin*, *John Purſel* of *Liſmore*, *William Baxter* of *Earlſtown*, *Iſaac Jackſon* of *Kilamery*, *John Jones* of *Ri* *Robert Hawford* of *Ballyneboly*, *Nicholas Pharoe*, *Thomas Tomlins* of *Liſmoteag*, *Chryſtopher Reuder* of *Fadenarah*, *John Nixon* of *Brawneburn*, *William Cheſhire* of and *Thomas Huſwife* of *Gowran*; good men and true, or neither good men nor true.

That their children and their childrens children may underſtand from what (I will not ſay *Canaanites*, but *Catharifs*) they are ſprung.

1. I brought in evidence, Mr. *Sheriff Reigly* (who was the *Sheriff* that gave me poſſeſſion) and Mr. *Counel* and *Hugh Linon*, that was thought needleſs) to prove my *poſſeſſion* given by the Sheriffe of the County of *Kilkenny*, by vertue of an Order of the Houſe of Lords, of this Lordſhip of *Biſh. Court* & the Lands thereto belonging, and of the Tenements in *Freſhfoord*, as it was expreſſed in a *Shedule* annexed to the Order of the Lords, upon the 29th day of *April*, 1662. and that the Tenants did *attorne* Tenants, and gave *pieces* of money in earneſt of their rents, and promiſed to keep the *poſſeſſion*, and to continue Tenants unto me during my pleaſure.

Who and what my Witneſſes proved.

2. Mr. *Thomas Bulkley*, *Mr. William Williams*, *Thomas Davies*, and my ſelf proved the *multitude* of perſons, to the number of ten or twelve, that upon the 8th day of *October*, 1662. were entred into the ſaid *Biſhops Court*, and there *forcibly* kept the poſſeſſion againſt the Biſhop, and ſome (one with a *ſword* by his ſide, and a *ſtaff* or Cane in his hand, and another with a *long ſtaff* in his hand) threatned that they would make him repent his doings and coming there, and that Sir *George Ayſkue* would ſpend 500 *li.* before he would leeſe this Biſhops Court, and that Captain *Burges* ſaid, he would keep and *uphold* the poſſeſſion for Sir *George Ayſkue* with his *life and fortune*; and others, having ſhut the *Iron Grate*, to hinder the Biſhop to *go out* or his Servants to *come in*, when his Servants demanded, what they meant, to *murder* their Lord? And deſired *to come in*, to wait upon their Maſter, they *threatned* them, and ſaid, that if they offered *to come in* there, they would beat them *down*, and knock out their *Brains*.

3. Mr. *Ri-*

3. Mr. *Richard Marſhal*, Mr. *George Farre*, Mr. *John Murphey*, and *Ed. Dalton*, (that proved how he was *thruſt* out of the houſe *by head and ſhoulders*) proved the *forcible* entry, with arms and weapons, a *Gun*, and a *Pike*, and *Staves*, into ſome of the Tenements in *Freſhford*; and that for nine daies, they kept the ſame with ſuch a *company* of Fanaticks, Anabaptiſts, and other Sectaries, that they ſeemed rather to be a *Garriſon*, than the keeping of *the poſſeſſion* of any houſe.

And after nine daies they bound *George Farre* and others in a bond of a thouſand pounds that they ſhould continue *true* Tenants to Sir *George Ayſkue*, and keep the *poſſeſſion* for him againſt the Biſhop of *Oſſory*.

And becauſe the ſaid *George Farre* proved this point ſo *fully* and ſo plain, that nothing could be ſaid againſt it; one of the Fanaticks *Counſellours* ſaid, what I conceive was very *unfit* to be ſpoken, in ſo *publick* a place, and before ſuch *honourable* Judges of any of the *Kings* Witneſſes, that this man, the *principal* of the Witneſſes, was a *parricide*, which I dare juſtifie to be moſt untrue.

4. For impounding the Cattle, and beating and wounding them that ſought to hinder it, the ſaid *George Farre* proved the ſame ſo *fully*, and that *one* of the women, that was beaten, lay *long ſick* after her beating, that Sir *Audley Mervin* and Serjeant *Gruffith* would not ſuffer three other Witneſſes, that I had there at the Bar, that is, *John Duran*, *Barbara Marſhal*, and another Wench, to be *ſworn* and examined, and ſo to *trouble* the Court any further; becauſe ſaid they, you ſee the *Lords Juſtices*, and the whole Court, are *ſufficiently* ſatisfied, that I had more than *abundantly* proved the *forcible entry*, and detaining of this Biſhops Court, but they gave way, to ſix of the *Intruders* Counſel, to ſay *what they could* for their Clients.

And when *each one* of them had made his Oration, and ſpent *much* time, and my Lord Chief Juſtice heard them, with a *great deal* of patience, to prove what I *never denied*, but was ready to *confeſs* all that they ſaid, touching the *large* Writings and Evidences, that they produced, to prove the *Title* and Intereſt of Mr. *Robert Shea* to this Biſhops Court, which *at this time*, when the

the queſtion was only of the *forcible entry*, I had no reaſon to contradict, and which perhaps might be good (and perhaps not) before he *forfeited* the ſame unto his Majeſty.

But for Sir *George Ayſkue*, that for his Service, you know to whom, (which makes me believe it will never proſper with him) had a *Commiſſion* from the Uſurper *Cromwel*, that for 200 *li.* which was *due* unto him for ſome Service that he had done, as I am informed, the *Commiſſioners* ſhould allot him *ſo much* Lands, as they thought worth 200 *li.* and they out of *favour* to him, and getting Lands ſo *cheap* as they did, gave him this *Biſhops Court*, and ſo much *more* other Lands, as are now far *better worth* than 200 *li. per annum*; his Counſel ſaid *never a word* touching his Title and Intereſt; for he injoyed it not *peaceably* and quietly, but only during the time of the *Rebellion*, and Uſurpation, (which I conceive to be no *true Poſſeſſion*,) for as ſoon *as ever* his Majeſty was *ſo happily* reſtored before one year had gone about, I ſent to enter upon it, and to *diſtrain* for my Rent, and Captain *Burges*, Sir *George Ayſkues* prime Tenant, gave me a *Writing*, which I have to ſhew, under his hand, to become *anſwerable* unto me for the whole Rent of this *Biſhops Court* and *Froſhfoord*, when I ſhould be peaceably ſetled in it.

How S. *George Ayſkue* came to have this Biſhops Court.

So when theſe ſix Counſellours had ſpent their *ſpirits* in tyring the *worthy* Judges, and beating the *ſoft air*, to no purpoſe, but only (like thoſe *Fanatick Preachers*, that read their Text, and never touch it after) to *amaze* the ſimple and ——— Jury which I may juſtly term ——— for that I am *confident*, the moſt of them were *reſolved* what to do before ever they *heard* the Evidence: My Counſel, that were Sir *William Dunvil*, the Kings Atturney, Sir *Audley Mervin**, Sir *John Temple*, the Kings Sollicitor, Sergeant *Gruffith*, and Mr. *Rian*, all very worthy men, and worthy to be named, thinking it *no wiſdom* in them, as one of themſelves told me, nor any waies *beneficial*, either to the King for his *Fine*, or to me for the *Poſſeſſion*, to follow thoſe *extravagant* Counſellours in their *devious* waies, and to anſwer their *needleſs* diſcourſes, ſo far from the *point* in queſtion, as being only about *Sheas* Title, and no waies *touching* nor contradicting the *forcible entry*, were very ſilent, and ſaid *never a word*

* The Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

to

to all that the *adverſe* Counſellours had ſaid, but left the Evidence to be *explained* to the Jury by the *Judges*, who had ſo *exactly* examined them, and ſo *patiently* heard what both ſides could ſay: for which, ſome of the adverſe Counſellours, and ſome of my friends blamed them very much, for making no manner of replication at all to Sir *George Ayſkues* Counſel. But truly I do conceive, that *digitus dei erat hic*, that as *he openeth the mouth of babes and ſucklings to ſhew forth his praiſe*, ſo he ſhuts the mouths of the *Wiſe* and *Learned*, when it pleaſeth him, as here he did, for the *trial* of this Jury, whether they would be *true* and *honeſt*, that, being found * as I conceive *they are*, they might be made an example (which he knew I would do, to the *uttermoſt* of my power) for all other Juries, to *terrifie* them from falſhood and wrong, to the *great benefit* of the whole Kingdom, which, without ſome *ſevere* cenſures upon ſuch *high* Offenders, would rather prove to be *a Den* of *thieves* than a *ſeat* of *ſafety* for honeſt men, that were beſt (if —— Juries may ſtill do what they liſt) to obey the *voice*, which cried in the air, at the Siege of *Hieruſalem*, *Migremus hinc*.

* Like *Belſhazzar*, weighed in the balance and found too light.

Then my Lord of *Santry*, that is, my *Lord Chief Juſtice*, ſeeing my Counſel *ſilent*, began moſt *nobly*, *rightly*, and *truly*, as a moſt *upright* Judge, and like himſelf in *all* his judgements, told the *Jury*, that for the *title and matter of Law*, and the Intereſt of either in this *Biſkops Court*, it was not in *their charge* to inquire of it, but they, that were the *Judges* of the Law, and of the right intereſt were to do it, and would do the ſame, when my *Counſel* ſhould move for the *poſſeſſion*, but they were, for the King, to enquire *only* of the matter *of fact* and *force*; whether *after* poſſeſſion was given to the Biſhop by the Sheriff, by vertue of an *Order* of the houſe of Lords, and the Biſhop *continued* his poſſeſſion from *April* to the eighth of *October*, though he ſhould be a *Diſſeiſor*, yet was he not *forcibly* put out, and kept out of the ſame? This was their *only charge*, to inquire after: and for this, ſaid my Lord *Chief Juſtice*, you ſee what is proved; a *multitude of perſons*, ten or twelve at the leaſt, when as *one* may make a forcible entry; you heard alſo, ſaid he, what *weapons* they had, *Gun*, *Pike*, *Sword*, and *Staves*; and you heard what *threatning*

The which ſa'd he, a Diſſeiſor ſhould not forcibly be put out.

words

words they uſed, that they would make the Biſhop to *repent* his coming there; that they would *knock down* his Servants and beat out *their brains* if they attempted to come in; and you heard likewiſe how they had *beaten* and *wounded* thoſe Servants, that ſought to *hinder* them to impound their Cattle; and all this, ſaid my Lord *Chief Juſtice*, makes the forcible entry *plain*, ſo that you need not ſtand upon it. So *juſtly* and ſo fairly did my Lord of *Suntry* deal herein, without either *fearing* or *favouring* the one or the other.

So the *Jury* was *diſmiſt*; and all that heard the *evidence*, and what my Lord *Chief Juſtice* ſaid, would have laid, ſome *twenty* to one, ſome *forty* to one, and ſome a *hundred* to one, that the *Jury* would not ſtand upon it, but *preſently* find the Verdict for the King. Yet they brought their Verdict for the *Defendants*.

Sure, if I had not been a Biſhop they would never have given ſuch a Verdict.

And as I am informed, all the Grave and Reverend Judges wondred, and were diſcontented at their Verdict; and whereas ſome would have the Jury fined, and impriſoned for the wrong they had done to the King; my Lord Chief Juſtice anſwered, there was a fitter place to puniſh them: meaning, as I conceive, the *Star-Chamber*.

And who will proſecute for the King if Juries be ſuffered to do thus?

And if ſuch men, that *formerly* moſt of them were againſt their King, be *thus* permitted, to drive men out of *houſe* and *home*, and *forcibly* to enter into their *poſſeſſion*, though they ſhould be Peeres of the Realm, which is a *violence* offered unto the Law, and a *petty Rebellion*, the next degree, and *fore-runner* of rebellion againſt their King himſelf; and when any *oppreſſed* and expulſed man ſhall with a great deal of *paine* and labour, and with a *moſt expence* of money, and an *indictment* upon indictment, *thrice* over, bring the ſame to a *travers*, and they, the *Jury*, without any *Conſcience*, contrary to all *juſtice*, and contrary to *all their evidence*, and the *plain* Declaration and Judgement of the Lords the *Judges* of the Court, and of the *whole Court*, ſhall do what they *pleaſe*, and ſay, *Quod voluimus, id ſatis eſt*, what we do is Law, without any *ſpeedy remedy* againſt them, to the *utter* undoing of many poor oppreſſed men, who had better ſuffer any, the *greateſt* wrong, than ſeek

And as the Poet saith, *Excessit medicina modum.*

to be relieved, by *such* a way, whereby *usura superat sortem*, and the seeking of a *Remedy* shall so far exceed the *Disease*, I know not with what *safety*, either of Life, State, or Fortune, (which are all in the *power* of the Juries, to determine of them) any man can live in this Kingdom.

What I say against these, I say not against the worthy Gentlemen and good Protestants, that are also very many, and my very good Friends in these parts: Neither do I say it against those welbred Gentlemen that were Officers, and Commanders in the Army, but of the generality of the Common Souldiers, and some of the meaner Officers, that for their small Arrears got large Territories, and are now great Free-holders, and the chiefest Jury-men and Judges of our Lives, Lands, and Fortunes.

For *here*, (especially in the County of *Kilkenny*,) where that *perfidious* Rebell and Traytor *Axtell* planted his Colony, such a *multitude* of Anabaptists, Quakers, and other *worser* Sectaries, that in the beginning of the *English* Rebellion, were *broken* Citizens and Tradesmen, *Taylers* and Tinkers, Shoomakers and Coblers, *Plow-men*, and others, the like, men of *no fortune*, thought to raise themselves by the *Irish* Wars, and having some *Arrears* of Pay due unto them, got *Orders* to set out *Lands* unto them for the same, and the Kingdom being *depopulated* and wasted, and made a *Wilderness* without Inhabitants, the *Lands* were of *nothing worth*, and they had *what* Lands they *pleased*, and as much as they pleased, for their Arrears; for ten pounds *as much* as is now worth a hundred pounds a year; and for a hundred pounds as much as I will give a hundred pounds *per annum*.

These men, that followed *Axtell's* Religion, and were of his *Plantation*, being mounted upon *Cock-horse*, to be such great *Land-holders*, (the *Irish* Proprietors being, for the *most* part, driven away, and the Church Lands also taken into these Souldiers hands,) they must now be, for the *most part*, the principal *Jury-men* and so the *Judges* of our Lives, Lands, and Fortunes.

And they, considering their *own interest* to be *alike*, to the Lands, both of the *Church*, of the *Irish*, and of all, from whomsoever they hold it, do *stick* and cling together, like *sworn brethren*, or rather like *forsworn wretches*, to defend and maintain *each others* Title and Interest in the Lands, that *each*

one

one holdeth, both against *Clergy* and *Laity*, God or the King, be the same *right* or *wrong*, they will not lose their lands.

And they do *incourage* each other *thus* to continue in their wickedness, saying, that *they got* their Lands with the loss of their *blood*, and the hazard of their *lives*; and therefore, to get the King some *small fine*, whereof he shall have but the *least part* of it, and be but very *little* the better for it, and to *dispossess* their own fanatick *Party*, and give the Lands unto their *Enemies*, especially unto the *Bishops*, whom of *all others* they hate most of all, and Bishop *Williams* above *all the rest*, as he that hates their *former* Rebellions, and their *now* practices, more than any man else, they will *never* do it: though they hazard the *loss*, both of *body* and *soul*.

Indeed, for the Bishop of *Ossory* he understands their *malice* towards him, well enough, (I pray God *forgive* them) so *great*, that, were it not for some *honest*, and truly religious *Irish* Gentlemen, and some of the *Catholick Religion*, I profess that I durst not live amongst *these*, that *formerly* warred against their King, and if the *truth* were known, do as I believe, as *little* love their *present* King, as they do *much* hate our *Church*, and the *Bishops* of our Church: when as they that *hate* their *Bishops*, cannot be said to *honour* their *King*, as I have most *fully* shewed in my *Grand Rebellion*.

And therefore I went unto his *grace*, my Lord Lieutenant, and related to his Grace the *Verdict* of the Jury, plain *contrary* to their evidence and the *Declaration* of my Lord *Chief Justice*, and the Judgement of the *whole Court*; and therefore did most *humbly* desire his Grace, to give me *leave* to go for *England*, to dispatch some *necessary* occasions, and to signifie unto his *Majesty*, that, if there were no Court of *Star-Chamber* here, nor any *other* provision made, to punish all *perjured Juries*, and all high Transgressors of the Laws and *hainous* offendors, that deprive his Majesty of the *fines*, justly due unto him, and his Subjects of their *right*, we, the true Protestants, and his Majesties *loyal* Subjects, were not in *safety*, nor able to live among *such Confederates* of wickedness; but must, as King *Boco* said to the Senate of *Rome*, depart thence, lest the ire of the Gods,

or the rage and injuſtice of ſuch men do utterly deſtroy us. And his Grace very mildly and *graciouſly anſwered*, my Lord, the Bill for a Star-Chamber is *already drawn*, and ſent to his Majeſty to be *ſigned*, and will *ſpeedily* come down, to paſs the Houſes, and then *ſuch Malefactors* may be *fully* puniſhed according to their offence.

And I *proteſted*, and do proteſt, that I would be *with the firſt*, that would do my *uttermoſt endeavour*, to puniſh *this Jury*, and all falſe and *forſworn* perjured Juries, and the like *high Tranſgreſſours*, that concern me whatſoever. For,

And therefore I do believe, that I am as equally bound in conſcience, to puniſh this Jury, as I am to recover the Lands of the Church.

It is moſt certain, that *Impunitas peccati invitat homines ad malignandum*; and as *Solomon* ſaith, becauſe the puniſhment is *deferred*, the hearts of the children of men are *altogether* ſet, to do evil; and my *Divinity* aſſureth me, that to *puniſh* a perjured perſon, and a *tranſcendent* Tranſgreſſour of the Law, is as *acceptable* unto God, as the *relieving* of the Oppreſſed; becauſe that hereby we do *our beſt* that thoſe, which will not be perſwaded by *good Counſel* to be honeſt, and *vertuous*, may be forced with *ſtripes*, to do their *duties*, or at leaſt terrified from being *ſo vicious*, for that as St. *Bernard* ſaith, *Qui non vult duci debet trahi.*

And therefore, with what *means* that God hath given me, I will with his *aſſiſtance*, do my beſt, to repair Gods *Houſe*, to relieve the *Diſtreſſed*, and to puniſh the *Perjured*, and the *Oppreſſors* of Gods People; and the rather, becauſe that *here*, in the parts, where I live, I have *ſeen*, in three or four years, *more* forcible Entries, Riots and Oppreſſions than I have ſeen in *England*, or *Wales*, that might be thought a little more wild than *England* in all my life, ſo that a *Stranger*, might rather think it a Country of *Robbers*, Tyrants, and Oppreſſours, much like unto *Albion*, when *Brutus* entred it, than a Country where with *ſafety* he might *dwell* amongſt them; for I do profeſs, were it not for ſome *honeſt Iriſh*, that are not *all* of my Religion, nor I of theirs, that do *further* me, incourage me, and protect me, in Gods *ſervice*, and the advancement of Gods *Church*, I had rather live a *poor Curate* in my own Country, than a *Biſhop* among *ſuch* a company of *Cromwellian* Anabaptiſts, Quakers,

Quakers, and other worſer Sectaries, that do live in *theſe* parts, and the *wind* of his Majeſties *happy* Government, and the *prudent* care of my Lord Lieutenant, hath *driven* them, like the *Church Papiſts* in Queen *Elizabeths* daies, to come within the Pales of our Church; and yet are as *falſe-hearted*, if the ſame might be *ſeen*, both to the *King* and the *Church* of Chriſt, as ever they were in *Crumwells* daies; as I conceive it to *appear*, by the *oath* of one of my Witneſſes, that *ſwore* he heard the *Captain* of theſe forcible Enterers, that I indicted, *incouraging* his followers, to keep the *poſſeſſion* for Sir *George Ayſkue*, and to *aſſure* themſelves, *things ſhould never be quiet untill they returned and come again as they were before*; which was a *ſtrange ſaying*, as I underſtood it.

As by their actions and hatred I do perfectly diſcern them.

Yet I would not have my *Reader* here to think, but that as the Scripture *diſtinguiſheth* betwixt the ſeed of the *woman* and the ſeed of the *Serpent*, the Children of *God* and the Sons of *Belial*, ſo I do here in *no waies* prejudice, nor think the *leaſt evil* of the true-hearted *Engliſh* and true Proteſtants, the worthy Gentlemen, the Officers, Captains and Commanders of the Army, that are likewiſe *many* in theſe parts; but I make a *great deal* of difference betwixt them, ſo *much*, as that I do *as much* love and honour the one, as I do *hate* and *abhor* the doings and wickedneſs of the other.

So you may ſee, what it is to live in *Ireland*, among *Anabaptiſts* and other *Sectaries*, worſe than *Pagans*; and how it is my *Fortune* to feel the *brunt*, and taſte the *poyſon* of their Malice, to publiſh *the ſame* to all poſterities: *God deliver his Servants from them.* Amen.

For here now the Poet may well ſay, that *Terras Aſtræa reliquit.*

AND now, untill I ſhall ſee whether the Star-Chamber will think it Juſtice, as I do, that this ——— Jury ſhould bear all the damage that I ſuſtain by their Verdict, and which I ſhould have recovered upon the forcible Enterers, if they had gone according to their Evidence. I thought good to prefer this Petition to His Majeſty.

To

To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble Petition of *Gruffith*, Lord Bishop of *Ossory*,

Sheweth,

THat *Justice is a vertue and grace most acceptable with God; yet your Petitioner hath been infinitly injured, and your Majesty likewise wronged:*

1. *By forcible Enterers that drove your Petitioner out of his house of* Bishops Court *and* Freshfoord.

2. *By a wicked forgerer of the Indictment of those persons, that were indicted for that entry.*

3. *By a packt Jury, that, when the forcible Enterers were three times indicted, by three several Juries, quitted them, contrary to their evidence, and the mind of all the Judges.*

May it therefore please your Majesty to cause that Justice may be done to your Petitioner, and that you would write to the Sheriff of the County of Kilkenny, *that, as formerly he hath setled your Petitioner in this* Bishops Court *and* Freshfoord, *by vertue of an Order of the House of Lords, so he would now settle him in his right and possession of the same by vertue of an Order from your Majesty.*

And your Petitioner doth here promise, and ingage himself to God and to your Majesty, that, as he bestowed about four hundred pounds already, so having the four hundred pounds per annum, *that your Majesty granted, setled upon him, according to the Act of settlement,* pag. 71, & 72. *he will lay out a thousand pounds more to repair the flat fallen, formerly fair Cathedral Church of* St. Keny.

And shall ever pray for your Majesty, *&c.*

The ſad condition of the Church and Clergy in the Dioceſs of *Oſſory*; and I fear not much better in all *Ireland*.

THE Church of *Ireland* in former times was very *famous* and glorious for *many things* eſpecially for *Piety*, and neighbourly *Charity*, and bounty of the people one towards another, as it appeareth by the rare and many many Edifices of *Churches* and *Monaſteries*, endowed with *ample* means and revenues, dedicated for the *honour* of God, and the ſervice of *Jeſus Chriſt*; all to be ſeen at this very day: for which cauſe it was wont to be *admired* and applauded, and by the bordering Nations, that obſerved their *ſedulity* in pious works, and *neglect* of worldly pomp, when, as the holy *Patriarchs* lived in *Tents*, ſo moſt of them were contented to lie in *Booths*, and poor earthly Cabins, or houſes made of *Earth*, that they might build to God houſes of *Marble*, moſt ſumptuous and glorious; and that they might be the better able, to beſtow the more, to *adorn* and beautifie the houſes and Temples of God; it was called, and not amiſs, *Eccleſia Sanctorum*, the glorious Church of holy Saints; that aimed only to go to heaven.

But now ſince the *unhappy time* of that potent K. *H.*8. when *Sacriledge*, through his diſcontent with the Pope, about his divorce with Queen *Katherine*, *Ut fama vagatur*, began to get

the *upper* hand, and to throw away *Piety* from the Church, and trample it under foot, and cover it over with the Cloak of *hypocriſie*, and the vain ſhadow of *no Religion*, inſtead of the *true ſervice* of God, *you* may ſee *reliquias danaum*, the ruines of *Troy*, and in all places the *carkaſs* of Religion, lodged in the thrown-*down walls* of all the *Abbies* and *Monaſteries*, and moſt of the *Cathedrals*, and the other Churches of *Ireland*, that are now, as the Prophet ſaith, *defiled and made heaps of ſtones*, Pſal. 79. 1.

For if you walk through *Ireland*, as I rode from *Carlingford* to *Dublin*, and from *Dublin* to *Kilkenny*, and in my *Viſitation* thrice over the Dioceſs of *Oſſory*; I believe that throughout all your travel, you ſhall find it as I found it, in all the waies that I went, ſcarce *one Church* ſtanding, and *ſufficiently* repaired, for ſeven, I ſpeak within compaſs, that are *ruined*, and have only *walls*, without ornaments, and moſt of them without *roofs*, without *doors*, without windows, but the holes to receive the winds to entertain the Congregation.

And what a *lamentable* thing, and a miſerable ſight is this? If you ſay, that in the time of blindneſs the people were *over zealous* in building *too many* Churches, and thinking to merit much thereby: I ſay, that now, in the *fulneſs* of knowledge, and the Sun-ſhine of the Goſpel, they are *too riotous* to pull them down, and *too negligent* of Gods honour, and of the Peoples good, to waſte and ruinate ſo *many Churches*, and to let the people *want* them to meet together, to ſerve God; which will merit a worſe reward for them, than they ſhall have that built them.

You may remember, that when *Moſes* was to erect the *Tabernacle*, in the wilderneſs, within a *deſart place*, of no trade or traffick, and therefore not eaſie to get *any wealth* in it: Yet *Moſes* requiring their *aide* and free will offering to do the ſame; they were ready, and *ſo willing*, every man, beyond his power, to bring in their oblation in ſuch *abundance*, that *Moſes* was fain to tell them, they had brought enough, and *too much*: and therefore forbade them to bring in *any more*; he like a good man and *juſt*, being not deſirous to make any *gain* of their bounty.

And

And you may read in 1 *Chron.*29.3. when King *David* resolved to have the *Temple* built, what *great provision* he left for the erecting of it; and how *Solomon* his Son did most *gloriously* finish the same in seven years, and furnished the same with *all things* necessary for the service of God; and after that *Nebuchadnezzar* had destroyed it, the Jews under *Zorobabel* did *most readily*, beyond the ability of captived men, newly released, contribute, and offered their *free-will offerings* towards the re-edifying of the same, which they finished in the ninth year of *Darius Histaspes*, that made it to be *forty six years* in building, from the second year of *Cyrus*, who began it, according as the Jews say, to our Saviour Christ. And because these *newly released* Jews, that had scarce taken *root* in the Land of *Jury*, and were but *scarce seated*, and unsetled in *Jerusalem*, were *not able* to make this their Temple answerable in *glory* and sumptuousness, to that most rare and *admirable Temple*, which those two mighty Kings, and Kings of all *Israel*, *David* and *Solomon*, had joyned their wealth and *strength* together to make it a most *glorious house*, for the most glorious and *Almighty God*; therefore *Herod*, that was but an alien, an *Idumean*, knowing that great and *glorious things* are to be offered, ascribed, and dedicated to the *great and glorious God*, re-edified and finished the same *most sumptuously* in eight years, as *Josephus* writeth; and he built the same so *exceeding excellent*, and more admirable than the Egyptian *Pyramides*, that *Cheops* builded of rare *Theban* Marble, so that for the rareness thereof, the Disciples shew it our Saviour Christ, saying, *Master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here.*

1 Chron.29.3.

1 Reg.6.37.

*Joseph.*lib.11. c.4.

*Joseph.*l.15. c.ult.

Mar.13.1.

And the *Jews* generally were so *zealous* of Gods service, and so *ready* to build and erect houses for his service, that, besides this glorious, great, and *magnificent Temple*, they had *many Synagogues*, that is, other *lesser houses*, like unto our *Parish Churches*, dedicated and consecrated for the *worship* of God; and he was counted a *very good man*, and worthy of *all love* and respect, that had built *one of these*, as they tell Christ, that the *Centurion* was worthy to have that favour shewed him by Christ, as to

Luk.7.5. heal his *Daughter*, becauſe *he had loved their nation, and had built them a Synagogue*, that is, a *houſe* for the people to meet in it, to pray, and to *ſerve* their God in it.

And it is moſt *likely*, they begin to build theſe *Synagogues* when the Tribes were *ſetled* in the Land of *Canaan*; becauſe the Ark, that remained in *Shilo*, and afterwards the Temple, that was erected in *Jeruſalem*, were ſo far *diſtant* from them that dwell in the *remoteſt* parts of the Land, that they could not come *ſo often*, as they would, unto it, therefore they built to themſelves *Synagogues*, to *pray* to God, and to *ſerve* him in them, inſtead of the Temple: for ſo we read that *Moſes of old time*, probable, I ſay, from their very firſt *beginning* of their ſettlement, *had in every City them that preached him, being read in their Synagogues every Sabbath day*: where, by the way, you may *obſerve*, that of old time, *contrary* to the conceit of our new Fanaticks, the *reading* of the holy Scriptures was accounted the *preaching* of Gods word; though I deny not, but after it be read and *ſo preached*, it may be further *explained*, as Chriſt did that place of *Iſa.*61.1.

Why the Synagogues of the Jews were built.

Acts 15.21.

Luk.4.18.

And you ſee they had theſe Synagogues *in every City*, ſo they muſt have as *many Synagogues* as there were Cities in all their Land; and *Sigonius* writeth, that there were four hundred and eighty of theſe Synagogues in *Jeruſalem*; and the Scripture ſheweth that in *other Cities* and Provinces there were many other Synagogues, as in *Galile*, in *Damaſcus*, in *Salamis*, and in *Antiochia*: and *Maymonides*, one of their *prime* Doctors, ſaith, the *tradition* of their Elders was, that whereſoever *ten Families* of *Iſrael* were, they ought to build them a Synagogue.

The number of their Synagogues.

And ſhall the *Jews*, that were under the *Law*, and burdened with ſuch *infinite* Taxes and Ceremonies of their Religion, as were more than they *were able to bear*, as the Apoſtle teſtifieth, be ſo *zealous*, ſo religious, and ſo ready to part with their *wealth* and the beſt things they had to build *ſo ſumptuous*, and ſo glorious a *Temple*, and ſo *many Synagogues*, to perform *thoſe ſervices* that God required of them, which notwithſtanding were but the *types* and ſhadows of that true Religion which we *have*, and

Acts 15.10.

do

do profeſs to *embrace it*; and ſhall we, that have the *ſubſtance* of thoſe ſhadows, which they had, and the *truth* of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, which they *never had*, but *in enigmate*, preached ſo *clearly* and ſo amply among us, and are freed from all the *legal Ceremonies* and Ordinances of the Law, be *ſo cold* and ſo careleſs as we are to repair the *houſes* of Jeſus Chriſt? I fear then that *theſe Jews* ſhall riſe in judgment againſt us.

Nay, more than this, if you look into the *ſtories* of the Gentiles, *Grecians*, or *Barbarians*, that knew not God, but knew that *there is a God* which *all men* ought to worſhip; you ſhall find how *zealous* they were to build *Temples* and Oracles to their *unknown Gods*, that were no other than the *devils*, as the Oracle of *Delphos*, *Amphiaraus*, *Hamonium*, *Dodonæus*, the Temple of *Diana*, at *Epheſus*, of *Veſta*, *Ceres*, *Minerva*, and other Goddeſſes of the Gentiles, and the *many many Temples*, that the *Romans* and other Nations built, to *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, and the reſt of their falſe and *faigned Gods* and Goddeſſes, that were indeed but *very devils*; and how *ſumptuouſly* they erected and *glorioufly* adorned and beautified thoſe houſes of theſe *deceitful* Oracles, and were ſo *exceeding bountiful*, almoſt beyond belief, in their oblations and *donations*, to theſe holy places, as they deemed them, as it appeareth in *Herodotus*, by the large gifts of *ineſtimable value* that *Creſus* ſent to the Temple of *Delphos*, and other Temples of thoſe Gentile gods.

Quia dii gentium damonia.

Herodotus l. 1.

And becauſe they knew no otherwiſe, but that theſe infernal devils were *Celeſtial Gods*, and ſo worſhipped them as gods, with *Temples*, Altars, Sacrifices, Prayers, and Oblations, dedicated unto them, which do only and *properly* belong to the true and *eternal God*: therefore *Horace* ſaith to them that neglected the *erecting* and beautifying of theſe Temples, that belonged to theſe no Gods:

Delicta majorum immeritus lues
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædeſque labentes deorum, & fœda nigro,
Simulachra fumo.

Horat l. 3. Ode 6.

The

The which Ode, that worthy and learned *Imitator* of this beſt Lyrick Poet thus *excellently* tranſlateth, in this *elegant* Lyrick Verſe.

Roman *reſolve thou ſhalt deſertleſs taſt*
Sins ſcourge, for vice of Predeceſſors paſt;
Untill thou doſt again repair
Decayed Temples, and make fair
The falling houſes of the gods, diſgrac'd,
And cleanſe their Images, with ſmoak defac'd;
To think thee leſs than gods, thy power commends,
Hence take beginnings, hither aime thy ends;
The gods neglected did impoſe
On ſad Heſperia *many woes;*
Twice Pacorus, *and twice* Manæſes *hand*
Our inauſpicious forces did diſband;
Who with a plentious prey made glad,
To little chains new links did add.

And if by the judgment of this *learned* man they ſhall *ſuffer* for all the ſins and offences of their Fathers and Fore-fathers, untill they re-edifie the *Temples*, and raiſe the flat-fallen houſes of theſe gods, and beautifie the defiled *Monuments* and Sepulchres of their Heroes, and other noble perſons that were dead: What *ſhame* and what puniſhment do we deſerve, for ſuffering the *Tombs* and Sepulchres of our *heroick Fathers*, and the Temples, Houſes, and Altars of our *good God* and our Redeemer *Jeſus Chriſt* to lye ſo waſte, ſo ruined, and ſo defiled as they are here in this Kingdom of *Ireland*; for I do believe that of about 100 Churches that our fore-fathers built and ſufficiently endowed in the Dioceſs of *Oſſory*, there are not 20 ſtanding, nor 10 well repaired at this day.

Truly, I have done my beſt, beyond my abiſity, let *Demas*. and the detractors ſay what they pleaſe, to repair the *Quire* of St. *Kenny*, and I have privately *vowed*, and publickly proteſted often,

often, and engaged my ſelf to *God*, to His *Majeſty*, and to the *People*, and I am contented to be bound in a bond of one thouſand pounds, that if the *Biſhops Court* and *Freſhford*, (that were given to the *Church*, and dedicated to *God*, for the ſervice of *Jeſus Chriſt*,) ſhall be *reſtored* to the Church, there ſhall not *one penny*, or penniworth, of all the rents, and profits thereof, be retained or transferred *to me*, or any of *mine*; but it ſhall *wholly* and *fully* be imployed and laid out for the raiſing and *reparation* of that Cathedral Church which the Lord hath now committed to my charge.

But if I ſhall *ſtill* ſee, as I have ſeen hitherto, that *Rebels* and Traytors that have been, (if ſuch as have *fought* under the Standard of the *beaſt* and Great Antichriſt, againſt their *own King*, to bring him to be *murdered*, may be ſo ſtiled,) ſhall be *countenanced*, furthered, and upheld, to carry away, and enjoy the *Lands* and Houſes of the Church, and ſo little regard had of that *juſtice* we owe to render unto God, *what belongs to God*, and leſs reſpect to the *ſervants* of Jeſus Chriſt than to the followers of the Antichriſt; then ſeeing, as the Prophet ſaith, *in vacuum laboravi*, I have laboured in vain; I have ſpent my *ſtrength*, my *time*, my *means*, and my *money* for nought, in ſeeking to bring to God *what is Gods*, and to the Church what of *right* belongs unto the Church, *Liberavi animam meam*, and I hope I may freely turn *the leaf*, and as God ſaid of the houſe of *Eli*, *I ſaid indeed that the houſe of Eli, and the houſe of his Fathers ſhould walk before me for ever: but now, ſaith the Lord, be it far from me.* And ſeeing they had *ſo far* diſhonoured him, and *ſo much* prophaned his ſervice, it was *juſt* with God ſo to do. 1 Sam. 2. 30.

And ſo I ſaid indeed, I would do *my beſt*, and I would beſtow as much *as I was able*, and perhaps *more* than many would imagine, to repair the *Cathedral* Church of *St. Kenny*; yet now being *diſappointed* of my hope, and finding men preferring *fleſh and bloud* before the dictate of the *Spirit of God*, favouring thoſe, that have been *rebels*, before ſuch as are *religious*. Seeing I cannot *build* the Church of Chriſt, I have reſolved, to the *uttermoſt* of my power, to *overthrow* the Synagogue of Satan; that

that is, to puniſh *perjurers*, and ſuch others, high tranſgreſſors of Gods Laws, and to leave the houſes of God (as finding my ſelf unable to prevail to do therein any good,) *waſted* and ruined as they are. And if this I *cannot do*, but that *Scelera ſceleribus tuebuntur*, one falſe and perjured Jury ſhall be defended, and protected, and juſtified by another falſe Jury; and one wicked oppreſſor excuſed by another the like oppreſſor; or that the fear of great men will not ſuffer poor ſpirited Lawyers to afford us Law for any money: then *ad te domine clamabo*, that we can have neither *truth* nor *juſtice* in the earth.

But to proceed to ſhew the *miſeries* of the Church of *Ireland*, though it be a very *lamentable thing*, and an unanſwerable argument of the *decay of Piety*, and of ſmall Religion in the nobleſt perſons, to ſuffer the *houſes* of God to lie as they do, for *hogs* and other beaſts to dig up the bones of *holy Saints*, it may be, the *Fathers* or Mothers of the now *great Lords* and Ladies of the Kingdom. Yet as the Lord ſaid unto his Prophet *Ezekiel*, *Turn thee yet again, and thou ſhalt ſee greater abominations*, Ezek. 8. 6. ſo I ſay to my Reader: For,

2. The great want of able Miniſters in this Kingdom, and why they are ſo ſcant.

2. As God is without *Churches* for his people to meet in to *ſerve* him, ſo he is without *ſervants*, enabled to do him *ſervice*, to praiſe his *name*, and to teach his *people*; and to have *Churches* and no *Churchmen* is to no purpoſe.

But why have we not ſuch Churchmen as are able to inſtruct Gods people?

I ſay, it is *eaſily* anſwered; that it is not *ſo eaſie* to get able, worthy, and ſufficient *Churchmen*, unleſs there were ſufficient *means* and livings to maintain them: for as *Seneca* truly ſaith, *Sublatis ſtudiorum premiis ipſa ſtudia pereunt*, where there is no *reward* for learning, there will be *want* of learned men, as one *demanding* why there were no Phyſitians in *Lacedemon*, anſwer was made, becauſe there was no *ſtipend* nor allowance ſet forth for the *Profeſſours* of that faculty; but as *Martial* ſaith to *Flaccus*,

Sint Mæcenates non deerunt Flacce marones,
Virgiliumque tibi vel tua rura dabunt.

But

But here in *Ireland* ſince *Hen.*8. overthrew the *Abbies* and *Monaſteries* that were as *Univerſities* to breed Schollars, and to ſend them forth to *feed the flock* of Chriſt, and gave the Revenues thereof, which were the *Eccleſiaſtical Livings* of the Church, unto his *Nobility* and lay Gentry, that ſpend the ſame, in many places, in *hawking* and hunting, and perhaps in ſome other *worſer* employments, the Church of Chriſt *wanteth Schollars*, and which is worſe, wanteth *means* to maintain thoſe Schollars, that otherwiſe would *ſupply* the defects of this Kingdom from *other Univerſities*, if they ſhould have *maintenance* to ſupport them, and to ſupply their neceſſities.

Why we want learned and painful Preachers here in *Ireland*.

If you ſay, Queen *Elizabeth* to make up the *breach* which her Father made, cauſed the Colledge to be built by *Dublin*, to breed up Schollars, to inſtruct the *Natives*.

I wiſh the *Natives* were bred therein, according to the *Statutes* and Inſtitutions thereof; but the Natives *ſay*, I know not *how true*, that the *Engliſh* by friends do carry away the *places*, and the *Iriſh*, as they loſt their *Friends*, and their Lands, and their *ſtrength*, ſo they loſe their *right*. But the truth is, that the *whole Society* of this Colledge cannot adequate, that *number* that the Priories and Monaſteries formerly bred; or if they could, yet the means and *maintenance* being alienated the *Labourers* cannot make up *the full tale of bricks*, when the *ſtraw* is taken from them, and they muſt run *over all the Land*, like the *Iſraelites*, to gather *ſtubble*, and to uſe other labour to maintain themſelves and their Families.

And to make this *apparent* unto my Readers, I have here ſet down *all the Rectories* and *Vicaredges* in my Dioceſs, and what *Procurations*, (beſides their *Subſidies* and *twentieth part*, which they are, and *ought*, to pay unto his Majeſty, and beſides *many other* Taxes, that muſt lye upon them,) they are to pay *every year*, to the *Archdeacon*, to the *Biſhop*, and to the *Archbiſhop*, every third year, and to the *Primate*, when he cometh to viſit them: and I have in my laſt Viſitation, with the help of my Archdeacon, Mr. *Teat*, and my Regiſter Mr. *Conell*, and two or three more of my *graveſt* Clergy men, ſearched, and *inquired*, as diligently as *we could*, what was the *value*, that every Living might

It may be at ſome dear year they may be of more worth or that the cunning Farmar may make more of them then the Miniſter doth.

might be worth *communibus annis:* and accordingly I have here ſet them *down*; that my Readers may themſelves *judge*, whether theſe *many* Livings, that *each* Clergy man holds, are more, or *enough, Deductis deducendis*, to make *one competent Living*, for a *worthy* and able man, that will *conſtantly reſide*, and conſcionably preach unto Gods people.

And theſe be the names of the Livings, their Procurations, their yearly value, and the perſons that do hold them. *viz.*

			Procurat.			Value.
			l.	*s.*	*d.*	
Com. Orm.	R.	*Offerulam*	0	12	0	
Segrave	V.	*Ibid.*	0	6	0	
Epiſc.	R.	*Bordwel*	0	3	4	
Epiſcop.	V.	*Ibid.*	0	1	8	
Neyland	R.	*Aghavo*				
Cul. Jun.	V.	*Ibid.*	1	2	8	
Epiſcop.	R.	*Rath-Saran.*	0	4	8	
C. Orm.	R.	*Rath-Downy*	0	10	8	
Epiſcop.	V.	*Ibid.*	0	5	4	
Bar. de Oſſor.	R.	*Cowlkerry*	0	4	8	
Cul. Jun.	R.	*Delgnie*	0	1	6	
Teate	R.	*Donnogh-more*	0	5	4	
	V.	*Ibid.*	0	1	8	
Civit. Kilk.	R.	*Skirke*				
Cul. Sen.	V.	*Ibid.*	0	14		
Cul. Sen.	R.	*Kildermoy*	0	4	8	
	R.	St. *Nicolai.*	0	4	8	

Decanatus

2. *Decanatus de Aghor.*

Eccleſ.Cath.	R.	*De Skeffin*	0	3	4
Com.Deſm.	R.	*Donnogh More*	0	14	8
Williams	V.	*Tubbrid Britt.*	0	4	0
Eccleſ.Cath.	R.	*Clontabrit.*	0	4	0
Sir Ro.Foord	R.	*Killahie*	0	4	8
Partridge	V.	*Ibid.*	0	2	4
Biro de Oſſ.	V.	*Killenie and Cahire*	0	7	4
Willams	R.	*Cloghmant. and Kilruſh*	0	7	6
Eccleſ.Cath.	R.	*Rath-Logan*	0	5	10
Eccleſ.Cath.	R.	*Cowlkaſhin*	0	5	8
R. Deane	R.	*De Kirke*			
Kerney	V.	*Ibid.*	0	14	8
Decan.	R.	*Irlingford*			
C.Orm.	R.	*Glaſhard*	0	4	8
Eccleſ.Cath.	R.	*Ballilorcan*	0	4	8

3. *Decanatus de Odogh.*

Archd.Bulk.	R.	*Caſtrie de Odogh*	0	8	4
Driſdale,	V.	*Ibid.*	0	4	4
Barry	R.	*Glaſh-crowe*	0	2	4
Spencer	R.	*Rath-beheth*	0	4	0
Eccleſ. Cath.	R.	*Durho*	0	14	8
Teat	R.	*Roſconnel*	0	8	8
C. Orm.	R.		0	4	4
Goburne	R.	*Attanagh*	0	5	0
Moore	V.	*Ibid.*	0	2	6
Co.Orm.	R.	*Kilmeman*	0	5	0
		Kilkormicke	0	2	8
Com.Orm.	R.	*Donnogh-more*	0	6	8
Driſd.	V.	*Ibid.*	0	3	4
Com.Orm.	R.	*Kilcolman*	0	6	8

Spenser	R.	*Cowlcrahin*	0	7	6
Drisdall	R.	*Kilmocar*	0	4	8
Spenser	V	*Ibid.*	0	2	4
Drisdall	R.	*Comer*	0	13	4
Cull. Sen.	V.	*Ibid.*	0	6	8
Collegium	V.	*Disart*	0	11	0
Cull. Jun.	V.	*Mothell*	0	9	0
Civit. Kilk.	R.	*Macully*	0	18	6
Cull. Sen.	V.	*Ibid.*	0	0	9
Com. Desm.	R.	*Don-mors*	0	5	8
Spenser	V.	*Ibid.*	0	2	4
Moore Jun.	V.	*Agharnie*	0	7	0

4. *Decanatus de Syller.*

Archd. Bulk.	R.	*Kilferegh*	0	4	8
Moore Sen.	V.	*Donfert*	0	6	8
Idem.	V.	*Kiltranie*	0	4	8
Wilson	R.	*Inshiolaghan*	0	10	8
Idem.	R.	*Tulloghanbroge*	0	9	8
Idem.	V.	*Ibid.*	0	4	10
Kerney	V.	*Kilmanagh*	0	6	8
Collegium	R.	*Dromdolgnie*	0	8	8
Collegium	R.	*Bally-bur*	0	3	4

5. *Decanatus de Claregh.*

Civit. Kilk.	R.	*Dromerthe*	0	2	4
Cull. Jun.	R.	*Kilmadimocke*	0	3	4
Idem.	R.	*Kilderie*	0	5	0
Civit. Kilk.	R.	*Fennel*	0	6	0
Collegium	R.	*S. Martini*	0	2	0
Miler.	R.	*Gowran*			
Drisdall	V.	*Ibid.*	1	12	0
Vic. Dubl.	R.	*Blanchfield*	0	6	8
Mr. Moore	R.	*Dongarvan*	0	12	8
Miler	V.	*Ibid.*	0	6	4
Cull. Sen.	R.	*Claregh*	0	5	0

6. Decanatus de Obercon.

	R. *Thomastowne*			
Teat	V. *Ibid.*	0	4	8
Co.Orm.	R. *Disart*	0	2	8
Kerney	V. *Rosbercon and Shambogh*	0	2	10
Cap.Holsey	R. *Kilkolbin*	0	5	4
Kerney.	V. *Ibid.*	0	2	8
Spenser.	R. *Listerling*	0	5	6
	V. *Ibid.*	0	3	2
Civit.Watf.	R. *Kilmahevog*			
Blake	V. *Ib.& Bally Margur.*	0	2	2
Kerney	V. *Kilkoan and Kilbrit*	0	4	0
Idem.	V. *Tristle Maure*	0	2	0
Com.Orm.	R. *Rower*	0	8	8
R.Deane	V. *Ibid.*	0	4	4
	R. *Tannervegan*	0	6	8

7. Decanatus de Kells.

Teate	V. *Jerpoint*	0	6	8
Co.Orm.	R. *Knocktopher*			
Bulkley	V. *Ibid.*	0	3	10
Barry	R. *Aghaviller*	0	5	0
	V. *Kilknedie*	0	4	0
Collegium	R. *Kilkeis*	0	4	0
	R. *Innethart*	0	4	0
Moore	V. *Mallardstowne*	0	3	0
	V. *Ballegh*	0	4	8
Moore	V. *Earlestowne*	0	4	0
Dr Chamberl.	R. *Callan*	2	15	0
	& pro Synodalibus	0	7	0
R.Deane	V. *Callan*	1	8	1
	& pro Synodalibus	0	4	2
	Capella villa de eadi	0	3	4

8. *Decanatus de Overke.*

Blake	V. *Rath-Patrick*	0	1	4
Kerney	R. *Killakeghan*	0	3	4
Idem.	V. *Dunkit*	0	3	4
Bulkley	V. *Illud*	0	0	11
Idem.	R. *Kilmaboy*	0	3	4
Driſdall	R. *Ballymartin*	0	1	4
Bulkley	V. *Portneſcolly*	0	1	4
Collegium	V. *Rath-keran*	0	1	8
Bulkley	V. *Polroan*	0	2	4
Wilſon	R. *Ballytarſney*	0	1	4
Bulkley	R. *Clonmore*	0	2	8
Wilſon	V. *Fidowne*	0	14	8
Bulkley	R. *Tibbritte*	0	1	8
Blake	V. *Caſhlane*	0	1	2
Barry	R. *Benley*	0	3	4
Bulkley	V. *Tiblinaghaine*	0	3	0
Driſdall	V. *Roſſenan*	0	0	8
	V. *Kilbeacke*	0	3	0
	V. *Killahie*	0	0	10
	R. *Ballyheth.*	0	1	8
	Eccleſ. Cathed.	1	11	0
	Colleg. S. Canici	0	19	0
Civit. Kilken.	*Prior S. Johan.*	4	0	0
Civit. Water.	*Prior S. Kathar.*	0	6	8
Baro. Oſſ.	*Prior Aghamacartie*	2	0	0
Co. Orm.	*Prior Kells*	6	13	4
Civit. Wat.	*Prior Kilkellihine*	6	6	8
Co. Orm.	*Prior Jerpoint*	0	15	4
Vicee: Galmoy	*Prior Fartenegeragh*	2	0	0
Clarke	*Prior Iniſteag*	4	0	0
Q.	*Meditat. Fidowne*	0	6	8

Col. Welch

Col. Welch	R.	*Kilbecocke and Killahie*	0	6	8
	R.	*Rossenan*	0	2	0
Clarke	R.	*Thomastowne*	0	15	0
		Inisteog	0	15	0
Cap. Holsey	R.	*Kilcoan*	0	5	0
Clarke		*Collankill*	0	3	4
Civit. Wat.	R.	*Cashlane*	0	10	0
Mr. Welch	R.	*Donkitte*	0	13	4
Co. Sup. Oss.	R.	*Killenie and Cahire*	0	4	4
Preb. Whiting.	R.	*Attyre and Attan.*	0	5	0
		Total	69	4	11 procurat.

These be all the Rectories and Vicaridges in the Dioceſs of *Ossory*; and of theſe

1. The Dean and Chapter have ſix: that is,

1. *Skaffin* 3 *s* 4 *d*
2. *Clontabrit* 4 *s* 8 *d*
3. *Rath-Logan* 5 *s* 10 *d*
4. *Bally Lorcan* 4 *s* 8 *d*
5. *Durho* 13 *s* 8 *d*
6. *Coulcashin* 5 *s* 8 *d*

2. The Colledge of the Vicars have ſix: that is,

1. *Disart* 11 *s*
2. *Dromdelgney* 8 *s* 8 *d*
3. *Bally-bur* 3 *s* 4 *d*
4. *St. Martin* 2 *s*
5. *Kilkeyse* 4 *s*
6. *Rath-Keran* 1 *s* 8 *d*

The Cathedral 1 *l* 11 *s*
And the Colledge 19 *s*

3. My L. Duke of *Ormond*, for himſelf and my Lady Duches have

1. R. *Offerulam* 12 *s*	9. R. *Kilmocar* 4 *s* 8 *d*
2. R. *Rath-downy* 10 *s* 8 *d*	10. R. *Donmore* 5 *s* 8 *d*
3. R. *Glaſhard.* q.	11. R. *Diſart* 2 *s* 8 *d*
4. R. *Lawkil.* q.	12. R. *Rower* 8 *s* 8 *d*
5. R. *Donnaghmoore* 14 *s* 8 *d*	13. *Knocklofer* q
6. R. *Kilmenan* 5 *s*	14. *Prior Jerpoint* 15 *s* 4 *d*
7. R. *Kilcolman* 6 *s* 8 *d*	15. *Prior Kells* 6 *l* 13 *s* 4 *d*
8. R. *Donnoghmoore* 6 *s* 8 *d*	11 *l* 6 *s* Iriſh.
	8 *l* 9 *s* 6 *d* ſterling. procurations.

But I do underſtand that this *pious* and moſt *honourable* Duke doth moſt religiouſly (as it is ſaid of *Arauna*, *All theſe things as a King did Arauna give unto the King*, 2 Sam. 24. 23.) intend to yield up, and to beſtow them all for the building of a *Colledge* in *Kilkenny*, to bring up Schollars for the *ſervice* of God, and the *perpetual* honour and glory of himſelf and the ſucceeding Race of his Family for ever; and I beſeech God *continue* his grace in that moſt *godly* reſolution: And let the God of heaven *multiply* his bleſſings upon him, to ride on with his honour *more and more*.

4. My Lord of Upper *Oſſory* hath

1. *Koolekerry* 4 *s* 8 *d*	3. *Callive and Caſhire* 4 *s* 4 *d*
2. *Aghamacartie* 2 *l*	2 *l* 5 *s* Iriſh.
	1 *l* 3 *s* 9 *d* ſterling.

5. My Lord of *Galmoy* hath

Fartinageragh 2 *l*

6. My Lord of *Cavan* hath

1. *Thomaſtowne* 15 *s*	2. *Iniſteog* 4 *l* and 15 *s*

7. Sir *Robert*

7. Sir *Robert Foord* hath

R. *Killahie, and Kilbecocke, 6 s 8 d*

8. Captain *Holſey* hath

R. *Kilcolbin 5 s 4 d* R. *Kilcoan and Kilbrit 5 s*

9. 9. Sir *Jo. Ponſonby* hath

R. *Fidown 6 s 8 d*

10. Collonel *Dillon* hath

R. *S. Keiran.* R. *Capel: S. Nicolai.*

11. Mr *Welch* hath

R. *Dunkit 13 s 4 d*
R. *Roſenan 2 s*

12. Archdeacon *Bulkley* hath

1. R. *Bananagh*
2. R. *Kilferagh*
3. R. *Odogh.*
4. R. *Diſert: c. or. q.*
5. R. *Tullaherin*

And I did alwaies conceive, that no Churchman, that underſtood what Sacriledge is, and the hainouſneſs of that ſin, would ever accept of any impropriate Livings, and hold the ſame as a lay fee from the Church of God; for, if a Clergy man holds it lawful to take five, I do not wonder that a Ly man ſhould hold twenty.

13. The City of *Kilkenny* hath

1. R. *Skirke.*
2. R. *Tubbrid brittaine* 4 *s*
3. R. *Maculli* 18 *s* 6 *d*
4. R. *Dromerthin* 2 *s* 4 *d*
5. R. *Fennell* 6 *s*
6. *Prior S. John* 4 *l.*

14. The City of *Waterford* hath

1. *Prior S. Katharin* 6 *l* 8 *s.*
2. *Prior Kilkellihine* 6 *l* 6 *s* 8 *d*
3. R. *Portneſcolly.*

The beſt Livings in all the Dioceſs are held by the Nobility, Gentry and Cities.

And all theſe Rectories are the *beſt* and the chiefeſt Livings, that are of *any worth*, or of any note within the Dioceſs of *Oſſory:* and as I ſhewed you, the *Nobility*, Gentry, and Cities do hold them from the Church, and do yield *little* or nothing for the *ſervice* of God in thoſe Churches, neither dare the poor *Vicars* and Curates, according to the Biſhops appointment, *ask* them any thing for the ſerving of theſe Churches; nor is it to any purpoſe for any *Incumbent* to ſue for any Tythes or rights that belongs unto his Church, for when he ſueth, and hath *proved* the truth of his Allegation, and to his great expences expecteth *judgment*, then preſently, upon a *falſe ſuggeſtion*, comes a *prohibition*, to ſtop all juſt proceedings in the *Court Chriſtian*; which is the uſual and *common practice* againſt all the Chriſtian Miniſters in *Ireland*, when they ſue for any right; and which is the *cauſe* that the Chriſtians wanting Vicars and Curates, that will not undertake to ſtrive againſt the *ſtream*, or to labour in Gods *Vineyard*, and to want *bread*, our good God is thereby *diſhonoured*, the People *uninſtructed*, and ignorance, ſuperſtition, and *Popery*, very like to continue ſtill *rooted* out amongſt them.

A memorable Inſtance. Mr. Partridge.

And to make this more *plain* unto you, I will here ſet down a thing *recenti memoria facta*; A poor Miniſter, and very honeſt man, *expelled* by the Iriſh Rebels from his Livings, and *plundered* of all that ever he had, and kept out of all, (as we all were, by far more wicked rebels,) was lately *reſtored* and placed by

by my ſelf in the ſmall Vicaredge of *Killahie*; but Sir *Robert Foord*, having the impropriate Rectory, beſtowed the ſame with his Daughter to a very great rich man, powerful, in former times, with the Long Parliament, and he forbids his *Tenants* to ſuffer the poor Vicar to have his *Vicarial Tythes*; that were not all worth five pounds *per annum*, becauſe they paid none for all the time of the Rebellion: therefore the poor Vicar *ſueth* for his Tythes, and by *ſufficient* Witneſſes proved the payment thereof, before the Wars, unto the Vicar: whereupon the great Gentleman came unto me, and ſaid that *ſuch a Miniſter* of my Dioceſs *ſued* the Tenants and *Servants* of Sir *Robert Foord*, that was a Privy Counſellour, and a great *Parliament* man, and therefore deſired me to *ſtop* the Suite: I anſwered, that I could not do ſo; for what if *all* the men in the Pariſh were the Tenants and *Servants* of *Parliament* men, and denied to pay their *Tythes* to the Vicar, ſhall the poor man be without his *means*, during all the *continuance* of the Parliament? So he may *ſtarve* for want of food, and the people *periſh* for want of inſtruction: Then he ſhewed me a writing under the hand and Seal of *another Biſhop*, that ſtopped the proceeding of a Miniſter in his Dioceſs againſt the Defendants, upon the Allegation and proof, that they were Tenants and *Servants* of Sir *Robert Foord*: And I anſwered, that I was not to *guide* my actions by the doings of *other men*, though reputed never ſo wiſe, but to do what I conceived to be *juſt* and honeſt without the fear of the *greateſt* man; and I anſwered him, there ſhould be nothing done in his cauſe but what was *juſt*; ſo we parted; and his *Agents* gave it out, that he would ſpend a hundred pounds before the Vicar ſhould have *any Tythes* there: and the next news that I heard was a *Prohibition* from the Chancery to ſtop the proceeding in the *Court Chriſtian*, which I conceive to be no furtherance of the *Chriſtian Religion*. And ſo M. *R. Deane*, Vicar of *Callan*, having ſued one for his right, in mine Eccleſiaſtical Court, when the matter was ready to be ſentenced, there comes a *Prohibition* to ſtop it; and ſo in many other the like cauſes. And how can a poor Miniſter, not worth *five pounds* in all the world, nor ſcarce *cloaths* to his back, when he

Colonel *Stopford.*

was put into this Vicaredge, wage Law with ſuch a man, of a vaſte eſtate, ſo that he could offer fourteen hundred pounds (ſome ſay more) for a *Purchaſe*? Let the world judge, what would become of *Religion*, if all Impropriators ſhould *thus* deal with their *Vicars*, and all great men and powerful Pariſhioners with their *poor Parſons*? Even as I am dealt withal; to ſpend above *four hundred pounds* to gain the rights of the Church: and to be not *one jot* the nearer to prevail, than I was the firſt day.

Cuncta trahit ſecum, vertitque ærarius omnia, Nec patitur certa currere quemque via.

But to proceed; having ſeen how the beſt Livings are held and diſpoſed of, and how the poor Parſons, Vicars and Curates are commonly dealt withal, you ſhall underſtand *what Livings* the poor Clergy men hold in their poſſeſſion, and of what value they are unto them (*deductis deducendis,*) *communibus annis*, as by the inquiſition of three or four of the ableſt Clergy-men in my Dioceſs, with my ſelf, I have underſtood the ſame in my Viſitation; and thereby my Reader may underſtand the meanneſs of our Iriſh Livings.

What Livings the Clergy-men do hold in their poſſeſſions.

Their Procurations.		Worth.
	M. *Barry* hath	
2 s 4 d	1. *Glaſhcrowe*	5 *l.*
5 s	2. *Aghaviller*	8 *l.*
3 s 4 d	3. *Bewley*	10 *l*
	4. V. *S. John*	10 *l*
10 s 8 d		33 *l*
	Mr. *Blake* hath	
2 s 2 d	1. *Kilmahevog and Ballymagarney*	10 *l*
1 s 4 d	2. *Rath-Patrick*	5 *l*
1 s 2 d	3. *Caſhlane*	5 *l.*
4 s 8 d		20 *l*

Mr. *Bulkley*

Mr. *Bulkley* hath

11 *d*	1. *Illud*	8 *l*
	2. *Kilmaboy*	16 *l*
1 *s* 4 *d*	3. *Portneſcolly*	6 *l* 10 *s*
2 *s* 4 *d*	4. *Polroan*	7 *l*
2 *s* 8 *d*	5. *Clonmore*	3 *l* 10 *s*
3 *s* 10 *d*	6. *Knoſtofer*	6 *l*
1 *s* 8 *d*	7. *Tibbrit*	1 *l*
3 *s*	8. *Tibrahaine*	1 *l* 10 *s*
	And he hath the Prebend of Clonamry	6 *l*

15 *s* 9 *d*

Mr. *Cull* Senior hath

14 *s* 8 *d*	1. V. *Skirke*	16 *l*
4 *s* 8 *d*	2. R. *Kildermoy*	30 *l*
6 *s* 8 *d*	3. V. *Comer*	2 *l* 10 *s*
1 *s* 9 *d*	4. V. *Macully*	3 *l*
5 *s*	5. V. *Clareth.*	

1 *l* 12 *s* 9 *d*

Mr. *Cull* Junior hath

1 *l* 2 *s* 8 *d*	1. V. *Aghavo*	15 *l*
9 *s*	2. R. & V. *Mothell*	5 *l*
3 *s* 4 *d*	3. *Kilmadinoy*	4 *l*
5 *s*	4. *Kilderie*	4 *l*
	And he hath the Prebend of Tiſcoffin	10 *l*

2 *l*

Dr. *Chamberlain* hath

2 *l* 15 *s*	1. R. *Callan*	10

& pro Synod. 7 *s*

Mr. *R. Deane*

Mr. *R. Dean* hath

4 *s* 4 *d*	1. *Rower*	11 *l*
1 *l* 8 *s* 1 *d*	2. V. *Cullan*	40 *l*
	3. R *Eirke*	50 *l*
1 *l* 12 *s* 5 *d*	*And he hath the Prebend of Kilamerie*	20 *l*

& pro Synod. 5 *s* 2 *d*

The Dean of S. *Kenry* hath

1. *Irlingford*	2 *l*
2. R. *S Patrick*	30 *l*

The Church down, and the people have neither Sermon nor Service.

Mr. *Driſdall* hath

4 *s* 4 *d*	1. *Caſtrie de Odogh*	5 *l*
3 *s* 4 *d*	2. *Donnoghmore*	8 *l*
13 *s* 4 *d*	3. R. *Comer*	25 *l*
1 *l* 12 *s*	4. V. *Gowran*	14 *l*
1 *s* 4 *d*	5. *Bally-martin*	4 *l*
	Roſenan	2 *l* 10 *s*

2 *l* 14 *s* 5 *d*

Dr. *Edwards* hath

1. *The Prebend of black Ruth*	16 *l*

Mr. *Goburne* hath

5 *s*	1. R. *Attanagh*	30 *l*

Mr. *Kerney* hath

6 *s* 8 *d*	1. V. *Kilmanagh*	30 *l*
2 *s* 10 *d*	2. V. *Roſbercon and Shambogh*	10 *l*
	3. V. *Kil-*	

2 s 8 d	3.V.*Kilcolbin*	8 l
4 s	4.V.*Kilkeas and Kilbrit*	3 l
2 s	5.V.*Triſtle-maur*	5 l
3 s 4 d	6.R.*Kilkeghan*	5 l
	7.V.*Dun-kitt*	5 l
14 s 8 d	8.V.*Eirke*	35 l

And he hath the R. of Kilmanagh for his Prebend 24 l

1 l 16 s 2 d

Mr. *Miler* hath

	1.R.*Gowran*	40 l
6 s 4 d	2.V.*Dungarvan*	10 l

Dr. *Neyland* hath

	1.R.*Aghaue*	50 l

Mr. *Moore* Senior hath

6 s 8 d	1.V.*Dunſert*	
4 s 8 d	2.R.*Kiltranie*	
	3.V.*Ballytobin*	6 l
3 s	4.V.*Mallardſtowne*	6 l
4 s	5.V.*Earleſtowne*	10 l
	6.V.*Ketts*	15 l

18 s 4 d

Mr. *Moore* Junior.

2 s 6 d	1.V.*Attanagh*	10 l
7 s	2.V.*Agharney*	7 l

Mr. *Segrave* hath

6 s	1.V.*Offerulam*	15 l

Mr. *Spenſer*

M. *Spenſer* hath

4 *s*	1.R.*Rathbeath*	8 *l*
7 *s* 6 *d*	2.R.*Cowlchrahin*	5 *l*
2 *s* 4 *d*	3.V.*Kilmocar*	
2 *s* 4 *d*	4.V.*Donmore*	
8 *s* 8 *d*	5.R.*and* V. *Liſterling*	10 *l*
5 *s* 6 *d*	6.V.*Mayne*	10 *l*

1 *l* 10 *s* 4 *d* *And he hath* R.Mayne *for his Prebend* 10 *l.*

Mr. *Teate* hath

1 *s* 8 *d*	1.R.*Donnaghmore*	15 *l*
8 *s* 8 *d*	2.R.*Roſeconnel*	16 *l*
4 *s* 8 *d*	3.V.*Thomaſtowne*	10 *l*
6 *s* 8 *d*	4.V.*Ferpoint*	13 *l*

1 *l* 1 *s* 8 *d* *And he hath the* R.*of* Kilfane *for his Prebend* 15 *l*

Mr. *Whitingham* hath

1.V.*Killanie and Cahire*
2.*Killinkar*
And he hath Aghore *for his Prebend* 12 *l*

Mr. *Williams* hath

q.	1.V.*Tibbrid-brittain*	4 *l*
7 *s* 6 *d*	2.R.*Cloghmantagh and Kilruſh*	16 *l*

Mr. *Wilſon* hath

10 *s* 8 *d*	1.R.*Iuſhiologhan*	8 *l*
4 *s* 10 *d*	2.V.*Tullaghaubroge*	3 *l*
1 *s* 4 *d*	3.R.*Ballynarſney*	12 *l*
14 *s* 8 *d*	4.V.*Fidowne*	12 *l*

1 *l* 11 *s* 6 *d.*

Theſe

Theſe be the *reſt* of the Livings within the Dioceſs of *Oſſory*; and the juſt value (ſo far as I could learn) of each of them; and do you think that this value is ſufficient to maintain an *able* Miniſtery to ſupply all theſe *Churches* and Pariſhes as they ought to be, or that *Popery* ſhall be ſuppreſt, and the true *Proteſtant* Religion planted amongſt the people, by the *unition* of Pariſhes, and the *diminution* of Churches without any *augmentation* of their means? *Credat Judæus Apella, non ego.*

Whether the foreſaid means and rates be able to maintain a ſufficient Miniſtry.

But you will ſay, his Majeſty hath moſt graciouſly provided, and it is confirmed by the Act of Settlement, that a very *ample* augmentation is added to all the *meaneſt* Biſhopricks of *Ireland*, and he hath moſt royally and *religiouſly* beſtowed all the *Impropriations* forfeited to his Crown upon the *ſeveral Incumbents*, unto whoſe Churches they did belong. *Object.*

I anſwer, That when God placed man in *Paradice*, the devil was ready to caſt him out: and when God maketh our paths *ſtraight* and eaſie, Satan will ſtraight put *rubbs* and blocks in our way to ſtumble us: ſo, though I gave above *fifty pounds* for Agents money to follow the Churches *cauſe*, and ſpent above *thirty pounds* to procure a *Commiſſion*, to gain that *augmentation*, which his Majeſty was ſo *graciouſly* pleaſed to add unto the Biſhop of *Oſſory*; yet preſently there comes a *Superſedeas*, to ſtop the proceeding of my Commiſſion, and I am not the better, either by *Augmentation* or *Agents*, ſo much as one penny to this very day: and ſome devil hath put ſome *great rub* for a ſtumbling block in my way: untill God removes the ſame, and throws it where *blocks* deſerve to be. And though his *Majeſtie* hath been pleaſed to beſtow his *Impropriations* upon the *Incumbents*, yet my Lord Lieutenant and the Council thought it *fit*, to take forty pounds *per annum* out of thoſe Impropriations for the better proviſion of the Quire in *Dublin*; and ſo by that means, the Clergy of *Oſſory* are not the better by *one penny*: that the Clergy might be like unto their Biſhop: for I find but four impropriations *forfeited* to his Majeſty, and *beſtowed* upon the Church in all the Dioceſs, and theſe being ſet by Mr. Archdeacon *Teate*, to the *uttermoſt* pitch *Anſw.*

How the devil hindereth all intended good

that he could, they did not reach to forty pounds the laſt year.

And to ſay the *truth*, without fear of any man, we are not only deprived of the *Vicarial Tythes* and offerings by the *Farmers* of the great Lords Impropriate Rectories, but our *Lands* and Glebes are clipped and pared to become as thin as *Banbury* Cheeſe, by the *Commiſſioners* and Counſel of thoſe illuſtrious Lords: for though his *Grace*, our moſt excellent Lieutenant, the Duke of *Ormond*, is (I ſay it without flattery) a man of ſuch *worth*, ſo noble, ſo honourable, and ſo religious, as is beyond *compare*, and for his *fidelity*, and *Piety*, and other incomparable parts, ſcarce to be equalized by any Subject of any King, and ſo many other great Lords are *in themſelves* very noble and religious; yet as *Rehoboam*, in himſelf conſidered, was not ſo very a *bad King*, but had very *bad Counſellours* that did him a great deal of *diſhonour* and damage: ſo this moſt *honourable* Duke, and other great Lords, may have, as I fear ſome of them have, ſuch *Commiſſioners* and Counſel, that, as well to make themſelves a *fortune*, as to enlarge their Lords *revennues*, will pinch the Parſons ſide, and part the Garments of Chriſt, betwixt *themſelves* and their *Lords*, as my Lord Dukes *Agents* have diſtrained and driven away my Tenants Cattel for divers great ſums of Chieferies, and challenged ſome Lands, that as I am informed, were never paid nor challenged within the memory of man.

And thus, as Chriſt was crucified betwixt the good thief and the bad, ſo are we, betwixt the good Lords, and their bad Agents.

And who dares oppoſe *theſe men*, or ſay unto them, *Why did you ſo?* Not I, though they ſhould take away my *whole* eſtate; for as *Naboth* had better have yielded up his *Vineyard*, than to have loſt his *life*, ſo I conceive it better to yield to their deſires *quietly*, than to loſe both my *Lands* and my *labour* by ſuch a Jury, aswill give it away though never ſo *Unjuſtly*: whereof I have had experience, and a ſad proof *non ſine meo magno malo*. Yet,

But let them fear, leaſt by making their Lords great here on earth, they do make themſelves little in heaven.

I confeſs the 49 men have been *very civil*, and ſhewed themſelves very fairly conditioned, and *religious* both to my ſelf, and as I underſtand, to all other Clergymen; and I wiſh that all Noblemens *Commiſſioners* and Agents would be ſo likewiſe,

The Civility and Piety of the 49 men.

likewiſe, that their doings may bring a *bleſſing* and not a *curſe* upon them, and perhaps upon their Lords and Maſters, that muſt give an *account* to God for the ill carriages, and the *oppreſſions* of the poor by their ſervants, who *diſhonour* their Lords, and make them liable to Gods *wrath* for the wrongs that they do, to make them the *greater*, and ſo receive the greater condemnation: for great men muſt not only *do no wrong* themſelves, but they ought alſo to ſee, that none *under their wings*, and through the colour of their power and authority, do any wrong unto the poore.

Lords and Maſters ſhall anſwer to God for the oppreſſions that their ſervants do under their power.

But to deal plainly, and to ſhew what reſpect, favour, and juſtice we the poor Biſhops and Clergymen have from the great Lords and Courts of juſtice in this Kingdom, I will inſtance but in the example of my ſelf; who, after I had expoſed my ſelf to the dayly and continual hazard of my life, by my preaching and publiſhing ſo many Books againſt the *Rebels* and *Long Parliament*, which I have unanſwerably proved to be the *Great Antichriſt*, and had, for all their Reign, ſerved, *duram ſervitutem*, and ſuffered more hardſhip than any Biſhop, and upon my reſtitution to my Biſhopprick, by the *happy reſtauration* of our moſt gracious King, having ſpent above four hundred pounds to gain the Biſhops *Manſion houſe*, where Biſhop *Bale* ſaw five of his Servants kill'd before his face, and himſelf driven to flee to ſave his life, and which was given to Sir *George Askue* by *Cromwel* for his ſervice to the *Long Parliament*, I have fully ſhewed the favour and the juſtice that I had at the Kings Bench, though I muſt ingeniouſly confeſs my Lord Chief Juſtice dealt as fairly and as juſtly as any Judge in the world could do. And I do pray to God that both Judges and Jury and all the pleaders may have better at the Bar of the King of Kings.

Then letting paſs the proceeding of the Court of Claim, that gave away the Lands and Houſes that were in my poſſeſſion, while I was in *London*, though a chief Member of that Court promiſed that nothing ſhould be done againſt the Church untill I returned home, and acknowledging the civility and fair reſpect that was ſhewed me by my Lord Chief Baron,

and the other Barons of the Exchequer, in doing right both to the King and to my ſelf, by putting the Biſhops Lands out of charge. His Majeſty having moſt graciouſly conferred four hundred pounds *per annum* to me and my Succeſſors, out of the fee Farmes forfeited to his Majeſty, and the Parliament confirming the ſame by the Act of ſettlement; I took a Commiſſion of enquiry, and when all my Witneſſes came together, and were ready to proceed, there comes a *Superſedeas* to ſtop our way: but his Majeſties Atturney Sir *William Durvil*, and Sir *Audley Mervin*, and the reſt of the Kings Sergeants and Sollicitors did ſo faithfully, ſo learnedly, and ſo religiouſly plead on his Majeſties behalf and the Church, (for which the God of heaven will reward them,) that they had the Superſedeas ſuperſeded and vacated by our moſt honourable and moſt religious Lord Chancellour; and then I proceeded, and the Jury found this Biſhops houſe and *Freſhford* forfeited to the King, and worth a hundred pounds *per annum*; then coming to *Dublin*, to have my Commiſſion put upon the file, and to get a Patent according to the Act and the Kings Grant to enjoy the ſame, after I had ſpent above a hundred pounds to bring the matter to this paſs, I received this anſwer, that my Lord Deputy and Council were reſolved to do nothing unleſs they received the Kings Letter and Command to do it; and though I was ſorry for the vaſte expence of money that I laid out to no benefit, yet I am glad to ſee men ſo obſervant of the Kings Word and Command: I would to God they and all others the Kings Subjects would have obeyed *Solomons* Counſel to obſerve the words and commands of our late moſt gracious King *Charles* the Firſt. I ſhould not have needed to ſuffer ſo much as I have done, and ſo often to have troubled our now moſt gracious King; and to have ſpent near ſixty pounds for Agents money for the good of the Church; and above four hundred pounds to repair the Chancel of S. *Kevey*, and in all above five hundred pounds to recover the Biſhops Manſion houſe, and *Freſhford*, from Captain *Burges* and Sir *George Ayſkue*, and to be not one jot the nearer, nor one penny the richer for all this money that I have ſpent; nor have any more by one penny-

worth

worth than what my moſt gracious King, and late loving Maſter gave me to this very day, and I conceive this to be nothing elſe, but ——

But then after I received this anſwer, I preſently went to *London*, and preſented this Petition to his Majeſty.

To the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The humble Petition of Gruffith *Lord Biſhop of* Offory.

Sheweth,

THat your Petitioner hath ſuffered the loſs of all that he had, and the continual hazard of his life, during all the time of *Cromwel* and the Long Parliament, for his ſervice and faithfulneſs to your Majeſty, and your Royal Father, of moſt bleſſed memory.

That your Majeſty hath been moſt graciouſly pleaſed, to grant four hundred pounds *per annum* out of the forfeited Fee-farmes for an augmentation to his poor Biſhopprick of *Offory*; and that your Petitioner, being by the Sheriff put into the poſſeſſion of the former Biſhops Manſion houſe, called *Biſhops Court*, by vertue of an Order from the Houſe of Lords, and being forcibly driven out by the Tenants of Sir *George Askue*, whom your Petitioner hath therefore indicted three ſeveral times by three ſeveral Juries, yet after the expence of above four hundred pounds could not be righted. And your Petitioner having got a Commiſſion of inquiry, what Fee-farmes were forfeited to your Majeſty, and when the ſame Commiſſion was ſuperſeded, having, with a great expence, ſuperſeded that ſuperſedeas, and had, by the fourth Jury,

Jury, found the ſaid *Biſhops Court* to be a Fee-farme held from the Biſhop of *Oſſory*, worth by improvement a hundred pounds *per annum*, and forfeited to your Majeſty; yet, after the expence of above a hundred pounds to bring the Commiſſion to this paſs, your Petitioner received this anſwer from the Lord Deputy and Counſel, that they were reſolved to paſs no Patent of any Lands, granted by your Majeſty, and the Act of Settlement unto the Biſhops, but to ſuch as had your Majeſties ſpecial Letters to do the ſame.

And foraſmuch as it had been better for your Petitioner to have had nothing granted unto him, than after ſuch a vaſte expence (above five hundred pounds) to miſs of gaining one hundred pounds *per annum*; Your Petitioner humbly prayeth, that your Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to write your Letters to the Lord Deputy to paſs a Patent according to what the Jury found, and according to your Majeſties former Grant, and the Act of Settlement.

And your Petitioner doth oblige himſelf to lay it out all for the repair of the now ruinous Cathedral Church of S. Keney, *and he ſhall ever pray*, &c.

And his Majeſty did moſt graciouſly read it every word himſelf; and then ſaid, I will ſpeak to my Lord of *Ormond* to do it.

So whether I recover it, or not, *Non hujus facio*, I weigh it not a ruſh, for I hope my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt (whoſe Sollicitor I am only in this ſuit) will not impute the loſs of this to me, ſeeing I have done my very beſt to regain it for his ſervice; yet could not do it, by reaſon of the great Friends of Sir *George Askue*, who made me, like *Ixion*, (that embraced a Cloud for *Juno*,) to ſpend five hundred pounds to hunt after a ſhadow, and to loſe the ſubſtance, and to have his Majeſties gracious δωρον, to become ἀδωρον; but, let him take heed of *Moſes* Emphatical Prayer for *Levi*, and of *Davids* Prophetical

cal Prediction, what ſhall become of them that keep the Revenues of the Church, and the Houſes of God in their poſſeſſions; and let his great Friends, and his Jury pray to God, that they may have more favour from Jeſus Chriſt, than they have ſhewed for his honour; and if this be the reward that Sir *George Askue* and the Biſhop of *Oſſory* ſhall receive for their ſervice to King *Charles* the firſt, I will ſay no more, but pray to God, as I do, both day and night, to be a juſt Judge betwixt me and them, that have oppoſed me, in this the Churches right, *Amen.*

So you have ſeen ſome part of the miſeries of the Church of *Ireland*, and *all the Livings* in my Dioceſs of *Oſſory*, and who *holds* them, and what they are deemed to be *worth*, *communibus annis*, unto the Incumbents: and *this*, together with the *ſtate* and condition of the *Biſhoppricks* in *Ireland*, which are now like *Anthropophagites*, eating up and devouring one another, (excepting the poor Biſhopprick of *Oſſory*, that ſtandeth yet alone like the *trunke* of a goodly Oake, without boughs, without leaves, without *beauty*;) when as many Biſhops here in *Ireland* have two or three Biſhoppricks apiece: As the Biſhop of *Cork* hath alſo *Roſſe* and *Cloyne*; the Biſhop of *Limricke* hath alſo the Biſhopprick of *Kerry*; the Biſhop of *Waterford* hath *Lyſmore*; the Biſhop of *Laghlin* hath the Biſhopprick of *Fermes*; the Biſhop of *Dublin* hath alſo the Biſhopprick of *Glandelo*; the Biſhop of *Downes* hath likewiſe *Conner* and *Kilmore*, whoſe Lands and Lordſhips the great *Lords* and Gentry hold, and they the names of thoſe Biſhoppricks, whereof, formerly, each Biſhopprick was ſufficient to maintain an able Biſhop. If you ſay, the Biſhops themſelves made away their Lands in Fee-farme: I dare boldly and truly ſay, as Chriſt doth of the like caſe, that they who did it were thieves and robbers, *Joh.*10.8. and they that received them were no better, but they that retain them worſe. When as now two or three Biſhoppricks muſt be *ſoddered* and conglutinated together, to make an honeſt *competent* means for one learned Biſhop. This I ſay ſheweth he miſeries of our Churches, and the *difference* betwixt the fruits that the *purity* of the Goſpel produceth in

in our times, and the *Piety* of our forefathers that lived in the *Primitive* times, and afterwards under the *manifold myſts* and ſeveral Superſtitions of the *Romiſh* Church, when the Lands and *revenues* that they gave to God to maintain the Biſhop of *Oſſory* to do him ſervice, is now * worth fifteen hundred pounds *per annum*, and our zealour *Goſpellers* have brought it, in the laſt Biſhops time, to be ſcarce worth two hundred pounds *per annum*; and I believe the *other Biſhoppricks* are not now and then much *unlike* it, and ſo *we* and our *forefathers* are not much *unlike* thoſe two Sons, whereof our Saviour ſpeaketh, whoſe Father ſaid unto the firſt, *Go work to day in my Vineyard, and he ſaid, I will not, but afterwards he repented and went; and he came to the ſecond, and ſaid likewiſe, and he anſwered and ſaid, I go Sir, and went not:* So our *forefathers* lived in the *times* of blindneſs, and knew not *well* what was acceptable unto God; yet they did to the *uttermoſt* of their endeavours and knowledge, what they were able, to pleaſe God, and to ſerve him; and *we* have his *Truth*, and his Will, his *Goſpel*, and his Mercies *plentifully* publiſhed, and poured forth amongſt us, and we do all that we can, to *obſtruct* his ſervice, and to *evacuate* the Religion of Jeſus Chriſt.

* As I believe:

The Papiſts ſhall riſe in judgment to condemn our fruitleſs and ſacrilegious Proteſtants.

And therefore I do much fear that theſe *blind* Chriſtians, as our Gnoſticks *contemptuouſly* call them, ſhall riſe in *judgment* to condemn the great and *quick-ſighted* worldlings, and fruitleſs Chriſtians of our time: who, by their prophaneneſs and *Sacriledge* have ſo much *hindered* Gods Service, and cauſed our moſt holy Profeſſion to be ſo much *blaſphemed*, and ſlighted among *Infidels* and Pagans, and the reſt of the enemies of Jeſus Chriſt.

Object. But you will ſay, how can that be *Sacriledge*, or thoſe men *blamed*, that, for the *reformation* of the Church, took away thoſe things that were *uſurped* by the Pope, and *abuſed* by the Monks and Friers to uphold *Maſſes* and Dyrges, and to continue their Superſtition, to the great *diſhonour* of God, and the *hazard* of many thouſand ſouls?

Anſw. I anſwer, if a thief ſteals my *horſe*, wilt thou *take* it away from the thiefe, and *keep* it ſtill from me? Art thou any *better* than

than the thiefe to me, or any *juſter* in the ſight of God? So the *Pope* and his Popelings took away the *Tythes* and Oblations, the Lands and the *Livings* of the Church, and *thou* tookeſt them from the Pope and his Friers: And why doſt thou not *reſtore* them to the Churches, to the which they do belong? For, thou muyſt remember that when *Nebuchadnezzar* had, like the Pope, robbed the *Temple* of God at *Jeruſalem*, and abuſed the Veſſels thereof in the ſervice of his falſe God; and *Belſhazar* his Son had in like manner *prophaned* the ſame, by his laſcivious quaffing therein with his Queens and Concubines, for which he was *juſtly* puniſhed by the revenging hand of God, *Dan.*5.3,25. yet *Cyrus*, when he had taken *Babylon*, and ſo robbed the *thiefe* that had robbed God, and underſtood, that theſe *holy Veſſels* did belong to the *Service* of God in the Temple of *Solomon*, he durſt not meddle with them, to retain them for *himſelf*, but, leſt he ſhould be *puniſhed* for his Sacriledge, as *Belſhazar* was, he commanded them to be carried to *Jeruſalem*, and to be reſtored to their former *proprietors*, and for their former *uſe* in the divine Worſhip of Almighty God.

And ſo ſhould *Hen.*8. and thoſe Lords and Ladies, that have taken away the *Revennes* of the Church from the *Pope*, have reſtored them to the Proteſtant Biſhops, and the reformed Miniſters of our Church. For ſo you may find a *Decree* of the godly Emperours *Honorius* and *Theodoſius* againſt the *Montaniſts* in theſe words, *If there be now any of the Edifices of the Montaniſts ſtanding, which are rather to be termed Dens of wild beaſts, than Churches of Chriſt, let them with their revennes, be appropriated to the Sacred Churches of the Orthodox Faith*; and in the ſaid *Code* it is ſaid, let the Biſhops, Prieſts, and Prelates (that is of the *Donatiſts*) be ſtript of all their Revenues, and be baniſhed to ſeveral Iſlands; and *let thoſe poſſeſſions where Superſtition hath reigned, be annexed to the holy Catholick Church.*

Cod. Theod. l. 4. C. 16. tit. 44. contra Donat. And ſo S. *Auz.* ſheweth all the godly Emp did Ep 50 ad bonifac. militem.

And good reaſon for it; for as the *Ark* of God, when it was taken and abuſed by the *Philiſtines*, yet did it not then ceaſe to be the *holy Arke* of God, and therefore when it was

afterwards ſent home by the Philiſtines, it was received, reſpected, and as much *reverenced*, and to the ſame ends *uſed* by the *Iſraelites* as it was before; as were alſo the Veſſels of *Solomons* Temple, after their return from *Babylon*: So the Revenues of the Church, though taken from the Church, and abuſed by the Pope, yet, being *reſtored* again to the Church, as they ought to be, they have the *ſame effect*, notwithſtanding their former abuſe, to promote the *ſervice* of God, as they had before: For being once *dedicated* for Gods ſervice, they ought never be to *alienated* from it, as I have moſt fully ſhewed in my *Declaration* againſt Sacrilege; but, as thoſe *Cenſers* (wherewith the two hundred and fifty Rebels, impiouſly *uſurping* the Prieſts Office, would needs offer *Incenſe* to God,) were *hallowed*; and therefore God would not *ſuffer* them afterwards, to be at any time employed for any *common* uſes, but commanded, that they ſhould be made into *broad plates* for a covering of the Altar, *Num.16.* and ſo the *Braſs* which thoſe Rebels had ſo wickedly *abuſed*, ſhould be religiouſly *uſed* by the true Prieſts for Gods ſervice: So the *Lands* and Revenues of the Church that were once hallowed, and *conſecrated* for Gods Divine Worſhip, though the Idolaters did *abuſe* them, and the Lay Lords *uſurp* them, yet God cannot *endure*, that being *once* in his poſſeſſion, and *given* for his ſervice, they ſhould be *ſnatched* out of his hands, and *transferred* to Lay and prophane uſes, but that, like thoſe *Cenſers*, they ſhould *ever continue* for the ſervice of his Altar; and ſo St. *Auguſtine* ſheweth as much in his 154 Epiſtle to *Publicola*.

And thus you ſee, how God is *robbed*, his Service *neglected*, and his Servants *deprived* of their means and maintenance, ſo that they can neither diſcharge their *duties* to God, nor feed the *flock* of Chriſt, and inſtruct the *people* committed to their charge; as they *ought to do*, and would no doubt do the *ſame*, if they were *enabled* to do it, which is a *lamentable* thing: and yet I can ſhew you *a greater abomination*, Ezek.8.6. even in the *Viſitations* of theſe poor and *pillaged* Clergy-men: I remember God hath a *twofold viſitation*, the one in *mercy*, to relieve the *oppreſſed*, to deliver the Captives out of their *Captivity*, as he

he viſited the *Iſraelites* in *Egypt*, and the like; the other in *juſtice*; to puniſh the *malefactors*, and the tranſgreſſors of his Laws, as *he viſiteth the ſins of the Fathers upon the Children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate him*; but whether the *Viſitations* of our Clergy-men be in *mercy*, or in *juſtice*, or whether it be *pro correctione morum*, or *collectione pecuniarum*, and *refectione corporum*, or both, I will not determine; I believe their *firſt inſtitution* aimed at *our good*, for the praiſe of them that *do well*, and the puniſhment of the refractory and *evil doers*; but time and craft corrupteth the *beſt things*, and as the wicked turn the *graces of God into wantonneſs*, ſo covetous men and *corrupt minds*, do abuſe all the good inſtitutions of our Anceſtors; ſo the ſervice of the *true God* was, in time, tranſlated to become the ſervice of the *Idols* of the Gentiles; and ſo, I fear me, theſe *Viſitations* of the Clergy, that *at firſt* aimed at their *good*, and for their *reliefe*, are now become, in many places, an *oppreſſion*, and a heavy yoak upon *their necks*, and a burden *ſcarce portable* upon their *ſhoulders*. As

1. In the *multiplicity* of them, three or four that may be in one year; as firſt the *Archdeacon*, he viſits, and gathers up his *Procurations*, perhaps *all the money* that the poor Clergy can procure; then comes the *Biſhop*, and he viſits, and the Clergy muſt now *double their file*, his Procurations being *twice* as much as the *Archdeacons*; then, every third year, the *Archbiſhop* comes about in his *triennial* viſitation; and if in *either* the Biſhop, or the Archbiſhops viſitation, the Clergy *fail*, either in the payment of their *Procurations*, or making ſuch *refections* as ſhall be to the *ſatisfaction* of their Viſitors, their Livings may be *ſequeſtred*, and let them live as they liſt; and after all this, the *Lord Primate*, if he pleaſe, may come in the ſame year, to make a *regal Viſitation*; and he being ſo *good a man*, and coming from ſo *good* and ſo *gracious a King*, deſerves no leſs than the *beſt*; and the beſt entertainment, that can be made for his Grace is fit to be made for him; And can theſe *many viſits*, think you, be for the *profit* of the *poor Clergy*? But, 1. The multiplicity of Viſitations,

2. The *refections* ſeem to be more *burthenſome* than the *Procurations*; 2. The Refections,

curations; eſpecially becauſe the Procurations are *certain*, what every man muſt pay, but the *Refections* (contrary to the mind of our Saviour, that ſaith unto his Diſciples, *Into what houſe ſoever ye enter, eat what ſhall be ſet before you*, Luk. 10.7.) muſt be to the *ſatisfaction* of the delicate and delicious company of the *viſitors*, and not according to the *power* of the poor Clergy; when they remember not the old Proverb, That the *full dog* knoweth not *how*, or what the *empty dog* doth bark; and if they be *diſcontented* with their entertainment, their Cenſures muſt be as they *pleaſe*, and none dares ſay, that it is *unjuſt*, or how can it be ſo from the *men of God*? Yet, as *all powerful great men* can eaſily find a ſtaffe to beat a dog: ſo the ſuperiour *Biſhop* or *Archbiſhop* can (if they pleaſe) ſoon find a *fault* in a poor inferiour Clergy man.

Now I will ſet down (for I fear no man living,) what *information* I have by Letters from the *laſt Viſitation* of the *Archbiſhop* of *Dublin*, that was held in my Dioceſs of *Oſſory*, by his Surrogate Mr. Archdeacon *Bulkley*: and theſe be the *very words* of the Letters, that the World may thereby ſee, and the Judge of all the World may judge in what caſe the poor Clergy do ſtand.

My Lord,

IT pleaſed God a little after your journey to *Dublin* to take out of this life your Grandchild Mrs. *Cull*, who diſcovered much Religion on her death bed; and as ſhe wanted not attendance in her ſickneſs, ſo neither decency, nor ſolemnity at her Funeral. Since your Lordſhips departure your Maid did, unknown to me, marry Mr. *Barry* the Smiths man, whom ſhe brought to lye in your Lordſhips houſe, whereupon there aroſe ſome quarrels between *Thomas* and her, inſomuch that *Thomas* ſate up a whole night with Candle-light for fear of the men, as he complained unto me, whereupon I charged the man not to lye at night time in your Lordſhips houſe till your Lordſhip did return; which hath prevented the like inconvenience

ſince:

ſince: As to the triennial Viſitation I ſhall give your Lordſhip this brief account, The Lord Archbiſhop did not come in perſon, but ſent Mr. *Bulkley*, whom we waited on three miles to bring him into Town, he told us what noble refections he met with in the Dioceſs of *Kildare*, *Leighlin*, but that here he was reſolved to lodge at his Daughters houſe, he asked what Proviſion we had made for his Regiſter, we told him Mr. *Connels* houſe; when his Regiſter came to Town, though his men ſome of them and his Portmantle were in Mr. *Connels* houſe, he did not like his lodging, and complained to the Vicar General; On Monday, after the Commiſſion was read, he told us, that in regard the refection for the Archbiſhop was neglected, he ſuſpended the Juriſdiction for ſix months, and whereas he thought to behave himſelf as a loving brother, he would prove a ſevere Judge, and that we ſhould expect nothing but utmoſt juſtice; we invited him that day to dine at *Whitles*, where we beſpoke a Dinner for his refection, which coſt ſix or ſeven pounds; but he refuſed, and every day we invited him, but could not prevail,; on Tueſday, and Wedneſday he ſeemed very mild and reſpective, and earneſtly defired to be an happy Inſtrument in the reconciliation of Mr. *Dean* and my ſelf, Mr. *Cull*, and Mr. *Driſdale*, upon which importunity that we might not diſcover our ſelves to be litigious, I was willing to be reconciled to him, whom I had no viſible quarrell with, ſo was Mr. *Driſdale*, but Mr. *Bulkleys* awe upon Mr. *Cull* made him condeſcend to a great ſubmiſſion, and aske him forgiveneſs *flexis genibus*; the next day the Archdeacon told me, that if we would diſcharge his Servants quarters, he would take off the Inhibition upon the Juriſdiction, whereupon Mr. *Connel* and my ſelf engaged to diſcharge the Reckoning; and ſo we thought that all things had been ended in a fair correſpondence, but upon his departure, he did privately ſequeſter all the Livings of Mr. *Cull* Junior, the Vicaredge of *Aghaboe* into the hands of one *Manby* the Archbiſhops Chaplain, he ſequeſtered out of my own poor means *Donnoghmore* and *Roſconnel*, and two Livings more of Mr. *Cull* Senior, and there were many other Sequeſtrations that I could not get an account of,

of, which they carried to *Dublin*; Thus praying for your Lordſhips ſpeedy return to countenance and ſupport the Clergy; I reſt,

Kilkenny, July 13. 1664.

Your Lordſhips moſt obliged Servant,

Joſeph Teate.

And now having ſet down *this Letter*, I would have my Reader to *underſtand* that whatſoever I ſet down here, touching my *Lords Grace* his Viſitation, I ſay it not to *accuſe* any of his Officers of the leaſt fault, or to lay the *leaſt blame* on them for any *unjuſt* proceeding therein.

The things acted by Mr. Archdeacon *Bulkley* in my Lords Grace his Viſitation, which the Biſhop of *Oſſory* underſtands not, as 1. The ſuſpenſion of the Biſhops juriſdiction. Canon 24.

But I only ſet down *rem geſtam*, to ſhew how *heavy* the Cenſure was, and how *burthenſome* (which a juſt judgement may be) unto the *poor Clergy*, whoſe neglect or fault, I *excuſe* not, if they committed any, but only *pitty* their caſe under their Cenſure; and likewiſe to ſhew how far, beyond my *underſtanding*, (which notwithſtanding might be moſt juſt) many things were acted therein; As,

1. The Suſpenſion or *inhibition* of the Juriſdiction, I know not for how *many months* together, nor for what *cauſe*, if as Mr. *Teates* Letter ſaith, for the neglect of the Archbiſhops *Refection*, I find the *Canons* ſay, that neither *the Archbiſhops* in their Viſitation ſhall charge their Suffragans, nor *the Biſhops* their Clergy, with any noctials or refections, over and above their *ordinary Procurations*, (reſerving notwithſtanding unto the Archbiſhops the refections heretofore *uſually* received in thoſe Dioceſs, where the ſame Procurations are *not received* by them, which are yearly paid by the Clergy unto their Biſhops.)

But

But the Archbiſhops *do receive* from the Clergy of the Dioceſs of *Oſſory* all the Procurations that they do *yearly* pay unto their Biſhops.

And yet notwithſtanding this *exemption* of Refections by the *Canon*, I am ſure I paid ſeventeen pound for the *Archdeacons* refection in the Archbiſhops *laſt Viſitation*, which is a great deal more than the Subſidy and twentieth part that I pay unto *his Majeſty* any year, and it may be more than *ever* was beſtowed upon a Dinner for the bleſſed Apoſtle S. *Paul*.

But you ſee in the *Letter*, how *highly* they do extoll the Biſhop of *Kildare*, which is the *prime* Biſhop in the Kingdom, for the *noble* entertainment that he made at this Viſitation, ſpending, as ſome ſay, forty pounds at leaſt for their *Refection*; and the Biſhop of *Lachlin* and *Fernes* in like manner, that was not *much* behind the former, to ſhew his love and *reſpect* to his Metropolitan, my Lords *Grace* of *Dublin*.

Truly, I do *honour*, reſpect, and reverence, and do *heartily* love my Lords Grace of *Dublin*, as a moſt *noble Gentleman*, and a moſt reverend and a *worthy Father* of the Church, and as much, and it may be *more* than any of them, and have ſuffered ſomewhat for the love I bare him; though my *large expence* for the rights of the Church darkened the *expreſſion* thereof in the Archdeacons *Refection*, as the Archdeacon repreſented it to his Grace.

Or it may be, as ſome ſay, *my Juriſdiction* (for the Juriſdiction is *mine*, and not my Archdeacons, nor Regiſter,) was ſuſpended becauſe I *appeared not*, at the Viſitation, but went to *England* without my Lords Grace his leave; eſpecially after I had *notice* of his Viſitation.

Indeed, I muſt *confeſs*, I went after I had *notice* of the Viſitation: but my *only buſineſs* was the buſineſs of the *Church*, and I had my Lord *Lieutenants* leave, under his hand and ſeal, to go without *any prejudice* unto me; neither was I ſo *forgetful* of my duty, or of civil reſpect, as to *neglect* my Lords Grace, but I went unto his Grace to excuſe my *abſence* from his Viſitation, and to deſire his leave, to go on my journey; and he *very graciouſly* yielded unto me.

And

And why, after *ſuch leaves* obtained, my Juriſdiction, which is *half* my Epiſcopal Function, ſhould be inhibited, I underſtand not; If Mr. *Bulkley* ſaith, *quomodo conſtat*, that you had my Lords Grace leave to be abſent: I anſwer *quomodo conſtabat*, how did I know, that Mr. *Archdeacon Bulkley* ſhould viſite me, and would think me ſo *uncivil*, and ſo ill bred, as to *forget* my reſpect and duty to my *Lords Grace*, as to go away without his leave?

I, but why did not you, ſaith the *Archdeacon*, ſend a Certificate under the *Archbiſhops* hand, that you had his Grace his *leave*?

1. Becauſe I did not *underſtand*, that, if I were at *Corke*, or *Kerry*, or ſome other ſuch remote place from *Dublin*, it is *abſolutely* neceſſary by any Canon or Law, that I muſt either go or ſend to *Dublin* to get my Lords Grace his *leave* to go about my moſt *unavoidable* occaſions, of what *conſequence* ſoever they be, or elſe, to be *ſequeſtred* from my means, or to be ſuſpended from my juriſdiction.

2. Becauſe that, having his leave *ore tenus*, by word of mouth, I did not *believe* that Mr. Archdeacon would *imagine*, that a man ſhould not truſt the *Archbiſhops words* except he had it under his *hand and ſeal*, when as I never doubted of any *honeſt* mans word, and much leſs of the words of my *Lords Grace* of *Dublin*.

Yet the Juriſdiction was *ſuſpended*, as they ſay, for ſix months, till all the *harveſt* and the *profit* of the year ſhould be paſt over; and what a *grievance* this is, to all thoſe parties, that have *ſuits* depending in the Biſhops Court, to have *juſtice* retarded all this while, and to thoſe alſo, that would ſue for their *Tythes*, or for any other *right* within the cognizance of the *Eccleſiaſtical* Court, I do not underſtand it, but am ſorry for it: and let others judge of it.

2. The taking of the Articles exhibited againſt the Dean out of the Biſhops Court.

2. When as *Articles* were exhibited unto me of *high* nature, againſt the *Dean* of S. *Kenny*, and I calling him into my Court, to *anſwer* them, and giving him his *own time*, that he deſired to have, to make his *anſwer*, that he might not be *ſurprized*, and this long *before* any *inhibition* of my Juriſdiction came into my hands,

hands, I do not *understand* how the *same suit*, depending in my Court, could be taken off, but by an *appeal*, and transmitted by a due Course of Law: or otherwise, *all the suits* and causes depending in my Court might be *cancelled* and taken off, as well as this: and what a *grievance* is this, to the prosecutors of any suit, and of how much *damage* I cannot imagine.

3. When the Deane of *Kilkenny* came to be instituted into his Deanery that was *Sequestred* into the hands of Alderman *Butler*, and would neither pay the Fees for his *Institution*, nor take a *Relaxation* of that Sequestration to this very day; and I letting him alone for *this*, and for many other *prejudices*, that concerned my self, yet when *divers* of his Parish came unto me, and complained how *duely* they paid their Tythes and *all duties* unto him, and yet how *roughly* he used them, and how *negligent* he was of them, when as they had neither *Service*, nor *Sermon*, nor *Minister*, to Christen their *Children*, Marry their *Youths*, and Bury their *Dead*, but they must go, and entreat this man or *that man* to do it, and that I could not perswade him to have a *better care* of his Flock, nor to pay any *Dues* to his Majesty, to my Lord Duke of *Ormond*, and the Bishop, I *Sequestred* his *Living* for the *better Service* to be done unto his people, and the sooner to get those Duties due both to the King and Bishop; and he understanding thereof, instead of coming *to me* for to desire a Relaxation, (which I expected,) he went and desired *to see* the Sequestration, and the man that had the Sequestration, gave it him to *read*, and he put it in his *Pocket*, and keeps it to this day, and gathered his *Tythes*, giving many *opprobrious* terms, and using *great threatnings* against the honest man to whose hands I had sequestred his Living.

3. The giving of Relaxations of the Bishops Sequestrations without hearing what the Bishop could say for sequestring them.

And when Mr. Archdeacon *Bulkley* came to the *Archbiſhops* Viſitation, he, without *my privity*, and without any appeal, or demanding what I had to ſay againſt him, gives a Relaxation of that Sequeſtration.

And *all this* I cannot well *underſtand*; but it puts me in mind of a *Play Book* that I ſaw on a Bookſellers Stall, intituled, *A King and no King*; and of what the Jews ſaid to Chriſt, Hayl King of the Jews, that is in their mind, *Rex ſine Regno*: For thus, taking the *Articles* out of my Court, and relaxing the *Sequeſtration*, and undoing *whatſoever* I had done, I conceived I ſhould be *a Biſhop and no Biſhop*: or a Biſhop without the *authority* and power of a Biſhop.

And truly, I do think, I were better to uſe *no Juriſdiction*, than *in vacuum laborare*, and to do things to *no purpoſe*, but only to be *undone againe*; which is not ſo much a prejudice unto *me*, as it is to *all thoſe* Parties that had, or ſhould have *any Suits* depending in the Biſhops Court, and muſt every third year go fifty or ſixty miles to follow their Suits, and with a vaſt expence in *Dublin*; and I wiſh his Majeſty would conſider this agrievance of his People.

But now, as *Abraham* ſaid to God, *Gen.*18.30. *I have taken upon me to ſpeak unto the Lord, let him not be angry*, and *I will ſpeak*; ſo I ſay to my *Lords Grace* of *Dublin*, ſeeing I have taken upon me *to ſpeak* of theſe things, let not his Grace *be angry*, and I will yet ſpeak a little of what I have obſerved in the afore-cited Letters; And

The things that the Biſhop of *Oſſory* obſerveth to be conſidered out of the Letters. 1. Touching the Refection.

1. For the *Refections*, I will ſay no more but what *you ſee* in the Letters; and what I ſaid *before* touching this Point, but *deſire* (if we muſt *ſtill continue* to give *Refections*

tions to the Biſhops and Archbiſhops,) that *the uncertainty* of the expence might be *remedied*, and either commuted for a *certain Sum* of money, or limited not *to exceed* a *Sum* as ſhall be agreed upon, to be convenient, that the poor Clergy might be *certain* what they are to do, and underſtand in *what caſe* they ſtand, and not be puniſhed for their *ill-doing* and neglect of their duty, when they think they have been *very bountiful* and have done very well; And,

2. For the *Reconciliation* of the perſons diſagreeing it was a very good, and a very *charitable* work; but for the *ſubmiſſion* of the *Senior Cull* unto the *Deane*, it puts me in mind of *Æſops* Fable, *Lupus ad caput fontis, bibens videt agnum procul infra bibentem*; for to ſay the *truth*, *Ea fama vagatur*, the Dean is reported, and I will not *juſtifie* the report, to be very *litigious*, and covetous, and to have much wronged the *poor Vicars*; and to have been, as Chaplain to one *Delboire* a Coſin of his, at the Siege of *Baſing* Houſe, againſt his late Majeſty; which, if true, makes me believe him to be a very *unworthy* man, and not worthy to be *countenanced* againſt any honeſt man; and I know Mr. *Cull* is *reputed* to be a *very* honeſt man, preſented ſo to me by the *Maior* and Aldermen of *Kilkenny*, and I am ſure a very *conſtant* and painful Preacher; and yet the Deane charged him with ſuch *hainous* crimes, that, if proved, were *ſufficient* utterly to undo him; Whereupon Mr. *Cull*, to quit himſelf of the Accuſations, preferred theſe *Articles* following againſt the *Deane*, and delivered the ſame to me, and I finding, that, if *Fame* be true, they might

2. For the reconciliation of the diſagreeing perſons.

might be all very *eaſily* proved, did put the ſame into my Court, to be anſwered by the Deane: And not to prejudice the Reputation of the Deane, (the things alleadged being not proved,) but that my Reader might the better underſtand the truth in this place.

And

And the *Articles*, being exhibited unto me, by the *Junior Cull* from his Father, as I ſhewed before, I required his *Proctor* to draw up the ſame *in forma juris*, and my Regiſter to deliver them to the Dean; and in open Court, I gave the Dean his own deſired time to anſwer them; & all this being done, the Articles *exhibited*, the Dean having his *own time* to anſwer them, and lying *long* in the Court before any tidings of the Archbiſhops inhibition came unto us, I conceive it *ſtrange*, and cannot underſtand, *quo jure*, how theſe Articles ſhould be *taken out* of my Court, as they were, without my *priviſy*, without an *appeal*, or any other due courſe of Law, and the offendor *quieted*, and ſet free without any anſwer to any Articles, (which I conceived to be rather a *covering* of faults, and cheriſhing offences, than a *reformation* of manners,) but eſpecially to conſider that the party wronged, and ſo *highly* injured, ſhould be enjoyned to make ſuch a ſubmiſſion, as *flexis genibus* upon his knees, to ask forgiveneſs to him that did the wrong: *hoc mihi magnum eſt, hoc miram*, I pray you *forgive* me, that I did not *thank* you for abuſing me: to juſtifie herein the foreſaid Fable true; for, I know no wrong that *Cull* did to the *Dean*, but I can make it good, that the *Dean* did many waies *exceedingly* wrong poor *Cull*; And yet *Cull* muſt be enjoyned to ask the Dean *forgiveneſs* upon his knees; and truly, to this day, I could not learn for *what*, unleſs it were for *complaining* that the *Dean* dealt with him, as the *Wolfe* did with the Lamb.

The ſtrange injunction laid upon *Jo. Cull.*

And not only ſo, but the *report* goeth, that the poor man (who ſpends what he hath, to maintain his two Sons in *Oxford*,) was *awed*, (as the word of my Letter is,) that is, threatned and terrified, that if he did not do as Archdeacon *Bulkley* enjoyned him, he ſhould be *deprived* of all the means he had, and ſhould not be ſuffered to ſerve in all *Ireland*: which if true, (as I eaſily believe it,) is the readieſt way to *encreaſe* the oppreſſions and wickedneſs of men, to the great *diſhonour* of God, and not to further the reformation of thoſe offences, that ought moſt *ſeverely* to be reproved; eſpecially in *thoſe men*, that by the *dignity* of their places, ſhould be the

light and good example unto others, yet will be indeed the *very scandal*, shame, and reproach of their Calling: I say no more, but that *such proceedings* do seem *very strange* to me, that never saw *the like* in the Kingdom of *England*, nor ever read the like done in any Ecclesiastical Court.

3. For the Sequestration.

And for the *Sequestrations*, I can say little or nothing to them; because I know not well the *cause*, for which they were sequestred; but I pity the *poverty*, and the loss and want that must thereby follow to the sequestred parties, to *disenable* them for a while to do *that good*, which otherwise they might do to themselves and their Families.

Yet, as the old Axiom is, that *Corruptio unius est generatio alterius*, so their *loss* is a *gain* to the *Officers* and *friends* of the Sequestor, (though perhaps they have not so much need of it, as those that are sequestred,) because Mr. Archdeacon *Bulkley* (as I am informed) wrote his Letters to the *Dean*, and to his Cosin Mr. *Lloyd* (who, notwithstanding his Letters, dealt like a *Gentleman* with the sequestred parties) to make the best agreement they could with the *Sequestred* Clergy for their *own profit* and advantage, before they should have their relaxation; which I believe was never *so intended* when Sequestrations were first ordered to be extended.

But for *Jonathan Cull*, that is said to be sequestred for not going to his Grace, to ask leave to go to *Oxford*, before he went, (which was indeed a fault in *Cull*,) and no man will excuse him, unless he can yield a very good reason for his neglect.

But for his *Non-residency* from his Livings, I think, that the *Statute* doth allow him to be *absent* from his Living, and to live in the University *studendi gratia* untill he be forty years old, and I having sent him word, from the Rector of *Lincoln* Colledge, where he is a student, that he must *make haste* to come before the *Act*; and his new-married Wife being lately *dead*, he might be thereby so *troubled*, and in such an *extasie*, as to forget his duty and *obedience* to my Lords Grace, not so much out of *contempt* or neglect of his Grace, as out of *ignorance*, bashfulness, or *forgetfulness*, that might well excuse him before

before any mild, and *no severe* Judges *à tanto licet non à toto*; and therefore *considerata considerandis*, the fault, which might be accounted *venial*, might be conceived not to deserve so *heavy* a Censure, as to be deprived of *all his means*, whereby he is *disinabled* to continue his study in the University; which makes me believe, the Sequestrator conceived some *greater cause* to sequester him, either against him, or against some *other* of his relation, which is probable, as I conceive it, to be against *my self*, whom some thought to *wound* through the *side* of *Jonathan Cull*, because I know the man to be so *civil*, and of so fair a carriage, as to give no *just offence* to any one, or in any place; I would the *accuser* of his brethren were so blameless: but many times *Aristides* is punished for being just, and *Clodius applauded* for his wickedness.

Or if he, or any *other* of my Clergy hath *justly* deserved punishment, I will not be their *Advocate* to justifie or to excuse any *heinous* crime.

And for the *Visitations* themselves; the *Bishops Visitation* seems to be *clipped* here in this Kingdom of *Ireland* more than seems convenient; for the *chief parts* and duties of this Office of *Episcopacy*, different from *Presbytery*, do consist in these two special things: The Visitations of this Kingdom.

1. *Ordination* of the Priests and Deacons to be the Teachers and Pastors of the Church, to feed the flock of Christ.

2. *Jurisdiction*, to rule and govern all the members of the Church, Clergy, and Layty, according to the Laws, Canons, and Constitutions of the Church.

And if in this *Triennial Visitation* of the Archbishop, he inhibits the *Bishops Jurisdiction* for two or three months, *before* he visits, and then when he visits, *suspends* the Jurisdiction for six months more, as here you see he doth, or for more than that if he please, and this every *third year*, and in any part of the year, when he will; hath not the Archbishop *swallowed up* almost all the Jurisdiction of the Bishop? And then as the Pope sends his *Legates a latere*, to do only what the *Pope* directs him; so the Bishop shall stand by the *Archbishops side*, and shall be set aside, as oft as he pleaseth, which seems to me

to be a Juriſdiction *ad placitum*, and ſo little better than a *Cypher*, that ſtanding by himſelf, ſignifieth *nothing*, and ſo is worthy of a *Presbyterial* correction.

But, as *Monarchy* is the beſt kind of Government in the World, when the ſame is *well ordered*, and rightly uſed, as I have moſt *amply* ſhewed in my Book, of the Right of Kings, ſo the multiplication of *powers* into one hand, being *abuſed*, hath produced *Tyranny* among the Tyrants of the Gentiles; and, as Presbyterians ſay, in the *Popes* of *Rome*: Therefore our Saviour Chriſt, ſeeing how *ambitious*, and how *greedy* his Diſciples were to *uſurp* authority, forbiddeth them, (not, to *uſe* their authority, and the juriſdiction that he gives them,) but he forbiddeth them to abuſe it, *i.e.* not κατακυριευειν, to domineer one over another, as the heathen *Tyrants* did, 1 *Pet.* 5. 3. and to that end, the moſt Divines ſay, and I think all, except the Popes Paraſites, I am ſure all the Presbyterians affirm it, that Chriſt *equally* diſtributed the power and authority, that he gave, to the Governours of his Church, which were the twelve Apoſtles, amongſt them all: and therefore they had all *equal juriſdiction*; though S. *Peter* had the priority of *nomination*, in reſpect of *order*, which muſt be obſerved in all the *actions* and the works of God, which is the *God of order*.

μηδὲ ὡς κατακυριευοντες του κλήρου,

See Biſhop *Howſons* Sermons that proves this Point at large.

Yet I, that am and will be as obſervant, reſpective, and obedient to *my Archbiſhop* as any Biſhop in *Ireland* ſhall be to his *Metropolitan*, ſay not this, as finding any fault, or laying the *leaſt blame*, upon the *Canons* and Conſtitutions of the Church, and the Laws of theſe Kingdoms (for all muſt confeſs, that the Office and Calling of an Archbiſhop was not ſo from the beginning, nor is, *jure divino*, of Chriſts inſtitution,) that *ordered* and appointed the ſame to be governed and guided by the Biſhops *ſubordinate* to their Archbiſhops, that are to have the *overſight* of them; which is a moſt *excellent way*, that all things may be done *right* in the rule and government of Gods Church: So it be done with that temper and moderation that it ought to be done.

But I ſay this, to the *ſame end* as our Saviour ſaid it to his Diſciples,

Diſciples, that all things might be done, *Leni ſpiritu, non dura manu*, rather by an inward ſweet influence, than an outward extream violence, and that all the Biſhops, and the Archbiſhops in their *Viſitations*, and in all their *actions* ſhould ſtudy and ſtrive to be like *Moſes*, that in the *Government* of Gods people was *the gentleſt, and the meekeſt man upon earth*, and endeavoured, as he ſaith himſelf, to carry them *in his boſome*, which is the *greateſt commendation*, and the beſt quality that can be in any Biſhop, of whom, it is a ſhame to ſay, *Non pater eſt Æacus*, thou art not the ſon of *Moſes*, *ſed te genuere feræ*, but thou art more like the ſavage beaſts: when thou art ſo *cruel*, ſo unmerciful, and ſo ſevere in the cenſure of thy brethren of thine own Coat.

For as I ſaid *long ago*, ſo I ſay now, and will ſay it ſtill, that the *rigid carriage* of ſome ſevere Biſhops, and their undiſcreet Surrogates, on the one ſide: and the *high ſtomacks* and proud behaviour of the Presbyters, on the other ſide, when the *Governours* ruled, and domineered like *Tyrants*, and the *Presbyters*, like ſtubborn Children, refuſed to be *obedient*, hath been one of the *chiefeſt* cauſes of the late diſtraction and miſeries, that we have felt in this our Church.

One of the chiefeſt cauſes of the late diſtractions in our Church.

But I will demand of the Lay men, whether that *Cenſure*, be commendable, when for a fault that deſerves a *penny* fine, the offender ſhall be puniſhed with a *pound*? And that delinquency, which ſprings through *ignorance*, or forgetfulneſs, and not of *obſtinacy*, ſhall be equally puniſhed with the *higheſt* tranſgreſſours; which is, in my judgment, like *Draco*, that wrote his Laws in bloud: Yet may you ſee the like *Draco's* ſometimes in the *Sequeſtrations* and Cenſures of ſome Clergymen: Poor ſouls, I can but pity them. And I will not be the *Judge*, but let the Reader conſider it; A young man is *newly* inſtituted into a little Living, and becomes bound to his Majeſty for his *firſt fruits*, then goeth to his ſtudy to the *Univerſity*, that he may be the better enabled to do *God ſervice*, in the Church of Chriſt; yet, becauſe that either through *baſhfulneſs* to go to ſo *great a Prelate*, that he never was acquainted with, or through *ignorance* of his duty, or *forgetfulneſs*, or perhaps for

for *haſte* to ſave his *paſſage* by Sea, when as time and tide ſtay for no man; or ſome other *excuſable* cauſe, he goeth to *Oxford* without his Archbiſhops being acquainted therwith, though his *own Biſhop* ſent for him in all haſte to come up before the Act: yet for this *hainous crime* and great piccadillo fault, he is *ſequeſtred* from all the means he hath, before he receives the *firſt harveſt* fruits, or perhaps *one penny* from the ſame, whereby he is *diſinabled* to pay the Kings *firſt fruits*, and to maintain himſelf in the Univerſity, and ſo *undone*: and if this Cenſure be *equivalent*, and not exceeding the fault, judge you.

And as diſlike and *diſaffection* produce ſometimes *heavy Sentences* upon the poor Clergy for light faults; ſo I have often ſeen great oppreſſions, aud much baſeneſs uſed by ſome great dignified Clergy-men, that I could name, and yet they were ſo far from Cenſure, that others were *upheld* and applauded in their wickedneſs and ſo, as the Poet ſaith, ——*Multi*

Juven. 1. Satyr. 13.

Eademcommittunt diverſo crimina fato
Ille crucem pretium ſceleris tulit, hic diadema:

One man is applauded and *crowned* for the ſame fact for which another man is condemned and *hanged*.

The laſt Viſitation of the Archbiſhop in this Dioceſs of *Oſſory*.

But for the *laſt Viſitation* of the Archbiſhop in this Dioceſs of *Oſſory*, I ſhall, beſides what I have ſaid already of the *Inhibition* and *Suſpenſion* of the Juriſdiction, ſay ſomewhat more than I ſaid of the *Sequeſtrations* of the Clergy; And,

1. Of the *Number* of thoſe perſons that were ſequeſtred.
2. Of the *Cauſes* for which they were ſequeſtred.
3. Of the *Conſequents* of their Sequeſtrations.

1. You muſt underſtand, that in all my Dioceſs of *Oſſory*, I have but twenty two beneficed Clergy-men, and of them twelve are non-reſident, and eight of the twenty two were ſequeſtred; *viz.*

1. Mr. *Barry*.
2. Mr. *Cull* Senior.
3. Mr. *Cull* Junior.
4. Mr. *Driſdall*.
5. Mr. *Moor*.
6. Mr. *Spencer*.
7. Mr. *Teate*.
8. Mr. *Kerny*.

Whereof

Whereof ſix were continually reſident, and in my judgment, the *moſt learned*, and moſt frequent *conſtant Preachers*, that have any Eccleſiaſtical preferment in my Dioceſs.

2. For the *Cauſes*, why their Livings were ſequeſtred, I cannot, and I do not ſay but that they may be *very juſt*, either for not rendering to *Cæſar* what belongs unto *Cæſar*, as the twentieth part, Subſidies, and the like payments, due unto his Majeſty; or for not rendering *to God* what is Gods, as the due and *diligent ſerving* of their Churches, and the payment of their *Procurations*, and the diſcharging of all *other dues* and accuſtomed duties unto his *Grace*, or to *them* whom he ſent to viſit them; or for holding their Livings contrary, either to the *Civil* or the *Eccleſiaſtical Laws* of the Land; or for the *unworthineſs* of the perſons uncapable of them, or ſome other juſt and lawful cauſe.

My Regiſters Letter informs me, that Mr. *Cull Juniors* Livings were ſequeſtred for going to the *Univerſity* without his Grace his *leave*, whereof I have ſpoken before; and others for *diſtance* of miles, if they were above *ſix miles* one from another, though they ſay, that for the *tenuity* of their Livings they had the Kings *Pattent* under the Broad Seal, to hold them ſome thirty, and others twenty miles diſtant; in which caſe, I ſay no more, but, if they ſhall not keep them above *ſix miles diſtant*, they might live better and grow richer here in *Ireland* by keeping *Sheep*, than by feeding of *Chriſt his flock*; or if the Law *prohibits* them, to keep them, *beyond* that diſtance, I wonder, why they are *admitted*, by the *Relaxations* of the Sequeſtrations, to keep them *ſtill* if they were ſequeſtred, to get *Fees* for the Relaxation, to Mr. *Proby*, my Lords Grace his Regiſter, and not to *deprive* them of either Living; my Lords Grace dealt more *graciouſly*, and like himſelf, in granting the *Relaxation* of them, than his Surrogate did in the *Sequeſtration* of them.

But if they were *Sequeſtred*, for not paying the Archbiſhops *Procurations*, or other duties due unto his Grace, I blame them *very much*, that they paid them not; for though by reaſon of the *ſmalneſs* of their means, and the *worthineſs* of the men, in their

their pains taking, I *forgave* all my Procurations and other dues alſo, to moſt of the poorer ſort of them, ever ſince his Majeſty came in, and, to my remembrance, have not received ſo much as ten ſhillings in Procurations from all my Clergy to this very day; yet that ſhould not make them *careleſs* or forgetful to pay *all duties*, that are due to other men; and therefore I told Mr. *Barry*, that ſaith, for not paying eighteen pence *Procurations* to the Archbiſhop, he paid thirty two ſhillings to his Regiſter, for his *Relaxation*, that he did very *unwiſely* therein; though, to excuſe himſelf to me, that was *angry* with them all that were *negligent* to pay all dues to his *Grace*, he had ſaith, that eighteen pence is not in my *Liſt*, nor in the Archdeacons Liſt of Procurations, neither was it ever paid, or *demanded* to be paid, either by me, or by my Archdeacon, or by any other Biſhop or Archbiſhop *before*; or otherwiſe, if he known how it came into Mr. Archdeacon *Bulkleys* Rowle, he would rather have paid his eighteen pence than thirty two ſhillings; and ſo I told every one of the reſt of them that were *ſequeſtred*, and paid thirty two ſhillings for each of their *Relaxations*, that it was their own fault, and their *folly*, that they had not paid what was *ſo juſtly* due unto his Grace.

3. The conſequents of their Sequeſtrations,

3. For the *Conſequents* of theſe Sequeſtrations, as they were very *beneficial* and profitable to the Archdeacons *Friends*, and to my Lords Grace his *Officers*, as I could ſhew you in what particulars, ſo they were very fatal and *grievous* to the poor Prieſts, that were *ſequeſtred*; for I, *charging* them, upon their Canonical obedience, to ſhew me the *truth* of the proceedings and *ſufferings* which they ſuſtained, I received a Petition from the Senior *Cull*, and a Letter of Mr. *Manby*, my Lords Grace his Chaplain, to a friend of his; (which I once thought to inſert in this place,) but I did not, yet I perceived thereby, how *heavily* this burthen lay upon the poor mans back, that proteſted unto me, he ſpent near *thirty pounds* before he was *quitted* from all his troubles in this buſineſs, and he was brought *ſo low*, that I was fain to lend him *twenty pounds* to be ſent to *Oxford* to relieve his two Sons, leſt otherwiſe they

ſhould

ſhould be *expelled* out of their Colledge for want of *money* to pay their arrears; and how great a *prejudice* and hinderance it was to the *Junior Cull* in his proceedings in the Univerſity, himſelf *beſt* knoweth, and can beſt inform you: the which things I conceived were very much to be *pitied* by any compaſſionate Father in the Church of God, that hath a fellow-feeling of anothers miſery.

And I underſtand likewiſe, from the *reſt* of the Clergy, and the poor *Clarks* of the Pariſh Churches, what an *infinite charge* the reſt of the ſequeſtred parties had been at, in paying about thirty two ſhillings Fees for every *Relaxation*, and Sequeſtration granted againſt them; beſides their own *proper* expences, and, if I am not miſinformed, beſides two pence a mile from *Dublin* to *Oſſory*, (which in ſome places is betwixt fifty and ſixty miles,) to the *Apparator* that ſerved the Sequeſtration; and beſides a far greater trouble and *loſs* which theſe ſequeſtred perſons had from the *Tenants*, to whom they had ſet their Tythes before they were ſequeſtred, and (by reaſon of the *great charge*, and ſmall means of ſome of them) were fain to take ſome part of their money *before-hand*; for when the *Farmers* of their Tythes, ſaw that their Livings were ſequeſtred, and put into other mens hands, yet, (though they had a Relaxation of them afterwards,) they pretended a far *greater loſs* than it may be they had, and ſo made the loſs *very great* unto the Incumbent, that muſt bear all the damage, and ſave the Tenant harmleſs; as to inſtance in one example for all.

The Dean and Chapter having paid me *no Procurations*, for all the Livings that they held, ſince his Majeſties happy reſtauration, I *ſequeſtred* the ſame into the hands of two of the ableſt and beſt experienced Prebends, Mr. *Teate*, and Mr. *Kerney*, who, I knew, would give a *juſt account* to me, and to the reſt of their fellow Prebends; and they did ſet the Tythes unto thoſe Tenants that were *moſt able*, and gave *moſt* for them; but when Archdeacon *Bulkley* came to viſite the Chapter, his *great friend*, and old acquaintance, the *Dean*, that had all the *former* years Revenues in his hand, and had given *none account*

An inſtance of the loſs of the ſequeſtred parties.

of any part thereof unto the Chapter, and was much *grieved* at my Sequeſtration of it, out of his hands, would not *pay* the Procurations due to my Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, no more than he would pay to me any of my Procurations; whereupon Archdeacon *Bulkley*, whether to *pleaſe* the *Deane*, or to *pleaſure* his Coſin *Bulkley*, I know not, ſequeſtred the ſame again into the hands of his Coſin Mr. *Thomas Bulkley*, and the reſt of the Prebends had loſt no leſs than five pounds by reaſon of that Sequeſtration, if the Law had not forced Mr. *Tho. Bulkley* to yield it up into the former Tenants hands. And ſo did the reſt of the Clergy loſe *very much* by reaſon of their Sequeſtrations, which they had never been acquainted with ſince my reſtauration; though I received not forty ſhillings from *all my Clergy* ſince I came to be Biſhop to this very day, nor ſo much as *one penny* from the Dean in all my life.

Then about two months after the *Archbiſhops* Viſitation was paſt, I received a Letter from Mr. *Proby*, the Archbiſhops Regiſter.

And therein a Liſt of them that had not paid their Procurations unto his Grace.

At the reading of which, I did *greatly* wonder at the *partiality* of Archdeacon *Bulkley*, that could ſpare to ſequeſter Mr. *Richard Seagar*, Mr. *Whittington*, Mr. *Williams*, Mr. *Richard Deane*, Mr. *Goburne*, Mr. *Wilſon*, and Dr. *Chamberlain*, that were the Deans friends, and for whom he interceded, though five of them were non-reſident, and yet would preſently ſequeſter thoſe eight (whereof ſeven were alwaies reſident, and took moſt pains in all the Dioceſs,) whom he knew the Biſhop therefore had a very *good opinion* of them, as well as of thoſe whom he ſpared; and the Dean had ſo *eagerly*, I will not ſay *maliciouſly*, but I dare ſay *cauſeleſly*, complained of them; and theſe alſo to have their *Relaxations* granted before they had paid their *Procurations*; I hope it is not to ſequeſter them *again*, which they well *deſerve*, if their former warning hath not *taught* them to pay them. And therefore, I that have *alwaies* perſwaded and taught *obedience* to be obſerved by all inferiours to their *ſuperintendents*, would not be *negligent* of my duty,

duty, to do according to my Lords Grace his Order, but I ſent my *Apparitor* to all the particulars of my Clergy mentioned in the Schedule, to come and make *ſatisfaction* for their Procurations, or to expect what might *ſucceed*, which they were better, like wiſe men, to *prevent*.

And they, when they came unto me, ſhewed me their *Acquittances*, under Mr. *Juxe* his hand, that they had already paid them.

So I thought this *ſtorm* was over: Yet within a while I heard that about ſome ten poor *Pariſh Clarkes*, and five of the Clergy were cited to appear at *Dublin*, (a journey to ſome fifty or ſixty miles, in the ſhort Winter daies, and over waies as foul as any is in *Ingland*,) to anſwer *Articles* that ſhould be objected againſt them.

Then divers of the *Clerks* came crying to me, that they had rather leave their *Clerkeſhip* than to take ſuch a journey to *Dublin*; and one of the Clerks the Archdeacon *Bulkley* had given a Licence to, and yet cited him to *Dublin* to ſhew his Licence, the which, when he ſhewed, the Officers of the Court ſaid, they *miſtook* it, and diſmiſt the cauſe, and yet afterwards ſent a Citation for the *Fees*. And my Clergy entreated me to *intercede* for them that did not know wherein they had *offended*, nor what could be *objected* againſt them: and I anſwered them all, that I would neither meddle nor make in their buſineſs; but, if they have done well, then all would be *well*, if otherwiſe, let them ſuffer for it, I would never *excuſe* their negligence, nor *Patronize* their offence; then ſome of them appearing at *Dublin*, expecting their Charge, and deſiring earneſtly to be diſpatcht, Archdeacon *Bulkley* anſwered, Your Biſhop is writing of Books, (for he had ſome inkling of mine intent,) and will not apply himſelf to my Lords Grace to *intercede* for you.

Yet my Lord Archbiſhop very *nobly* and *graciouſly* willed the Archdeacon to take their *anſwer*, and to diſpatch them that they might go *home*; and the Archdeacon *Bulkley* willed them, to *confeſs* their faults, and to ſubmit unto the Court, and they ſhould be diſcharged; and I hearing of this advice, willed

them to confeſs the *truth*, but not of any guilt, wherein they were *innocent*.

And therefore when they had their Articles, ten or twelve, read unto them, (for they had no Copy of them,) they ſaw, they were but meer *ſuggeſtions*, and not any thing in any of them, that could any waies touch them, or prejudice them in any thing, and they preſently made their anſwers unto them.

And when they had anſwered and confeſt *no fault* that they committed; upon the payment of their Fees, for the charges of the Court, they were diſmiſt.

Whereby, it ſeems to me, that, if they were guiltleſs, and nothing could be proved againſt them, they might as well cite all the Clergy, and all the men in *Kilkenny*, and ſuggeſt Articles againſt them, to bring them unto *Dublin*, to pay *Fees* to enrich the Officers of the Court; and that being done, to ſend them home *glad* that they are diſmiſt.

Then after this the Churchwardens of S. *Maries* in *Kilkenny*, having very juſtly, as I underſtand, *preſented* divers perſons at the Archbiſhops Viſitation, they were, contrary to the *Canons*, cited to appear at *Dublin*, forty ſeven miles, to make good their Preſentation, as the Churchwardens informed me; which was ſo ill reſented, that we could *hardly* get any that would take the *Churchwardenſhip* upon them, for fear of the like troubles if they preſented any man. But, when I demanded of the Archdeacon why the Churchwardens were cited to make good their Preſentment: He anſwered, it was not ſo; but they retained a *Proctor* to proſecute againſt thoſe that refuſed to pay the *Church taxes*, and they not following their ſuit, they were ſent unto, either to come and *proſecute*, or the Defendants ſhould be *diſmiſt*: which if ſo, I blame not the proceeding, but let the Churchwardens ſuffer for their own errour, when they ſue out of my Court without a diſmiſſion, or an appeal.

Canon 65. and 67.

Yet out of all *my former diſcourſe*, it appeareth what an *heavy burthen* and an infinite charge this laſt triennial Viſitation of the Archbiſhop hathbeen to the *indigent Clergy* of *Oſſory*, both

both in their *threefold* Procurations, their *manifold* Sequestrations, and *long* Winter journeys to procure their Relaxations, and the *manifold* losses that they sustained by their Tenants, that, by reason of the Sequestrations were disappointed of those tythes that they had taken from the Incumbents, which makes me think, that we do not follow our Saviours Counsel and Precept to S. *Peter*, *To feed his flock*; nor what we learnt in the old Adage, that saith, *Boni pastoris est pecus tondere non deglubere*; for certainly these foresaid things do seem *deglubere pecus non tondere*; and to cause his shepwards to *starve*, and not to enable them to *feed* his Lambs.

And therefore, as the sin of *Solomon* moved God to raise up *Hadad* the *Edomite*, and *Rezon* the Son of *Eliadah*, and *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, to vex *Solomon* for the sins of *Solomon*, 1 Kings 11.14,23,26. So I do not wonder, that God suffereth the devil to stir up *Presbyterians*, and *Quakers*, and other *Anabaptistical* Sectaries to vex the *Bishops* for these and the like sins of the Bishops against God and his poor people, when they suffer and *countenance* their Commissaries, Registers, and other Officers, to be like a *talent of lead* upon the necks of Christ his Sheep.

Why God suffereth Sectaries to vex the Bishops.

But I do therefore demand, if these things, and all the things I shewed to be amiss in this Treatise, ought not to be *reformed* and amended?

Whether the foresaid abuses ought not to be redressed.

I know some will say, they ought not *thus* to be published to the World, to discover the weakness and *imperfections* of our Brethren, to make them *more contemptible* in the eyes of the scoffers of our Calling, than they are; and therefore will much *blame* me for this my publication of these things.

But as *Caligula* was so wicked, and his life so *beastly*, that some Historiographers have been in doubt, whether it were best to *bury* them in oblivion, or *commit* them unto memory: and it is answered by mine Author, That, seeing it is profitable to the Readers, and to *Posterity*, to know the *evil doings* of others, and the disgrace they have thereby, to make them affraid to do the *like evils*, lest in like manner they should be

Reynolds in the life of *Caligula* fol. 31.

published

published to their shame: therefore it is far better to *discover* the faults of Governours and great men, than to *conceal* them; because it is done, not with any desire of *any evil* to the doers of those evil deeds, but out of an earnest endeavour to *amend them*, and to prevent the like carriages in all others; not to disgrace *any*, but to prevent the disgrace of *all*.

Why great mens faults ought to be discovered.

But though it be not amiss to make *known* the injustice and the faults of Great men, that there may be a *redress* of them; yet who dares complain and speak of the Vices of their Superiours? *An rotum est scribere in eos qui possunt proscribere:* I have read how the Mice held a *Consultation*, how they might escape the fury of the Cat; and one wiser than the rest, said, it might easily be done, if there were but a *Bell* tied about the Cats neck; for so they might heare her coming, and they might get away; and all liked well, and *applauded* the device; but to this day they could never agree, which of them should *tie* the Bell about the Cats neck: So all the poor and *inferiour* Clergy, all sigh, and groan, and *complain* of their Taxes, and Pressures, and Oppressions, by the *Bishops*, and *Archbishops*, and *Archdeacons*, and their Suffragans, and all that come to Censure them; but not one of them all dares *tie the Bell* about the Cats neck, and complain of these *Great* Powers unto the *Higher* Powers, to have their abuses redressed, for fear of a *worser* consequence; no less than to be *crusht* and torn all to pieces.

The Fable of the Mice.

Yet I remember, what *Seneca* saith, that he which is *careless* of his own life, may when he will, be *Master* of another mans life; so *he* that is careless of his own *state* or promotion, and regards not the *confluence* of wealth and worldly things, may without fear *do things* that other *timorous* men dare not venter to do.

And truly I must confess, that since the great *Jehovah*, my continual deliverer, hath delivered me from that *multitude*, of those malicious Enemies, that sought after my life, when I was scarce budded in the world, and ever since hath preserved me so many times from such *great*, and so unimaginable dangers, as from Captain *Flaxen*, when I was carried Prisoner

The manifold deliverances of the Author.

to

to *North-hampton*; from Captain *Beech*, when I was taken priſoner at Sea, from the *drunken Captain* that would have delivered me to the *Power* of the Parliament, hard by *Aber-yſtwith*; from Sir *John Carter* and *Courtney*, that would have clapt me in priſon when I preached for his now Majeſty at *Conway*; from the wicked *Committee* of plundered Miniſters, that ſaid I deſerved rather to have my head cut off, than to have any Article; performed with me; from ſo many deſperate *Sea-voyages* and Land journeys that I paſſed through; and from Captain *Wood*, when I was under his hands in the Parliament Ship; from the Great Antichriſt, the Long Parliament; and eſpecially from the *devil* himſelf, when he threw me down at *Weſt-Wickham*, and God ſaid unto him, as he did of *Job*, *He is in thy hand, but ſave his life*; I never feared what man could do unto me; but as the Prophet *David* ſaid, the Lord delivered me from the mouth of the *bear*, and of the *Lion*, and he will deliver me from this *uncircumciſed Philiſtine*: So I ſay, the Lord that preſerved me ſo *many* times, from ſo many dangers, will ſtill preſerve me, while with a *ſincere* heart I endeavour to diſcharge my duty: eſpecially ſeeing the Lord ſaith, *I, even I am he that comforteth you; and who art thou that art afraid of a man, and of the ſon of man that ſhall be made as graſs, and forgeteſt the Lord thy Maker, that hath ſtretched forth the heavens, and laid the Foundations of the Earth, and haſt feared every day becauſe of the fury of the oppreſſour, as if he were ready to deſtroy.*

Therefore, as I have been alwaies *reſolute*, and in a manner, deſperate, in the judgment of the timorous, as it appeareth, by the *three Books*, that, in the behalf of our late King, I printed in *Oxford*, and the *three Books* that I writ of the *Great Antichriſt*, while the Long Parliament and the falſe Prophet were in their greateſt prevalency; and by the *Sermons* that I preached at St. *Nicholas*, and other Churches in *Dublin*, at *Conway* before the Judges, at *Llan Sannan*, and in all places: So now in mine old age, when I am ſo near my grave, I have *leſs reaſon* to fear, and *more cauſe* to be reſolute, to ſay the truth, to diſcharge my duty, and to implore my moſt honourable

rable Friends, my Lords Grace of *Canterbury*, my Lord of *London*, and my old familiar Acquaintance my Lord of *Winchester*, whom God hath placed ſo *near* his Majeſty, and hath raiſed to that *eminency* of dignity *pre conſortibus* above their brethren, not ſo much for their *own* ſakes, as for his *honour* and ſervice, and the good of his Church, and like ſo many religious *Joſephs*, to relieve their diſtreſſed Brethren, to joyn in mine aſſiſtance, moſt earneſtly to beſeech, and *moſt humbly* to petition to his Sacred Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to *relieve* and help the Church of *Ireland* in thoſe *threefold grievances* that I have foreſhewed: as, that

1. Seeing the Lands and Revenues of the Church, were I am ſure, in many places of my Dioceſs, given for their reward that fought againſt his late Majeſty; and that by reaſon of their *wealth* and great friends to uphold them therein they do poſſeſs them; and we that would erect our Churches therewith, are *diſinabled* to do it without our means, that are ſo *forcibly* with ſtrong hands, and by *ſuch friends* detained from us; his Majeſty would be pleaſed to cauſe them, or ſome others, ſome waies, and by ſome means, to have the *Churches* of God, for the ſervice of *Jeſus Chriſt*, to be erected and repaired *, and not, to the ſcandal of our Religion, (which the Jews, Turks, and Gentiles would not do,) to ſuffer our very *Cathedrals*, and ſo many other Pariſh Churches to lie ſo *ruinous*, and ſo rooted up as they are.

* Eſpecially the Biſhops Cathedral Church in *Kilkenny*.

2. That ſeeing ſo many great and goodly *Impropriations* are taken away from the *Church* of Chriſt, and from the *ſervice* of God, and are held in the hands of ſuch great perſons and *powerful* men, that will not part with them, (as I ſhewed to you before,) and the poor Vicars of ſuch Rectories impropriate, have ſcarce ſo much *means* belonging to the Vicaredges, as will put bread into their mouths, whereby they are *conſtrained*, for the relief of their Families, to take *Farms*, and other Lands to occupy, like Lay men, and to neglect their *duties*, and the *ſervice* of Gods Church, and to ſuffer the poor people either to be inſtructed, and to have their children *baptized*, *married*,

married, and *buried* by the Popiſh Prieſts, or to have *no Prieſts* at all; and we that are the *Dioceſſans*, by reaſon of the ſmall values of thoſe Vicaredges, can find no men that are worthy and *able Miniſters*, that will come and accept of thoſe *ſlender* maintenances; and thoſe that do *accept* them, we cannot make them, by reaſon of their ſmalneſs, to *diſcharge them*; And ſeeing, as I ſaid, the Churches are *down*, and the Lands, Livings, and Revenues of the Church, are *thus*, as I ſhewed, in the hands of the great and *powerful* men, and rich Cities, and we can as eaſily pluck the club out of *Hercules* hands, as get any of them out of their fingers, when the poor men dare not, ſcarce, *aske* their dues of them, or if they ſue for them, the *remedy* will prove far worſe than the *diſeaſe*, to go to Law with *Corporations*, or with *mighty* men, to ſpend their *money*, and commonly to go without their *right*, as they have a *plain example* in my proceedings with Sir *George Ayſkue*, and the detention of all my Procurations, (which, as Biſhop *Bale* ſaith, in the Page of his Book, was almoſt half the Revenue of the Biſhopprick of *Oſſory*,) by the foreſaid great men and Cities ever ſince his Majeſties reſtauration; and I know not how to get them; it is no wonder to me, that *Popery* ſhould, not only *continue*, but encreaſe more and more, and the Service of God *decay* more and more, and injuſtice, Idolatry, and wickedneſs *abound* in this Kingdom more and more, and I tell you herein the *plain truth*, let who will be angry, and let others think what they pleaſe.

And further, ſeeing, that beſide the payments and taxes that they are bound to pay to his Majeſty by the hand of their Biſhop, and to their Biſhop, and Archbiſhop, and all other payments for their Churches, they are *frequently*, contrary to the Acts of Parliament, *exceedingly* moleſted, taxed, and diſtrained, for the ſame taxes, which they have formerly paid, by the Lay Collectors: and the trouble to be diſcharged from thoſe unjuſt Taxations is worſe, then the repayment of them again, when as *exceſſit medicina modum*, the remedy is worſe than the diſeaſe.

Therefore that it would pleaſe his Majeſty, for the honour

of God, and the good of the poor people, and the poor Clergy likewiſe, to cauſe the Churches to be built*, and ſome competent means and ſum to be deducted out of thoſe Impropriations, and to be added for the augmentation and better ſupport of the poor Vicars, and ſome fairer and eaſier way to be deviſed for the poor Clergy to recover their right; and a prohibition of the Layty under a Subpæna to recharge them for thoſe payments which they are charged with, and enjoyned by the Act of Parliament to pay to their *Dioceſſans*.

* Eſpecially the Biſhops Cathedral Church at *Kilkenny*.

3. That ſeeing three or four Viſitations, that may be, of the Archdeacon, Biſhop, Archbiſhop, and Primate, in one year cannot chooſe but be a *grievance* and a great *burthen* unto the poor Clergy, that are poor enough without the charge of *ſo many* Viſitations, added unto the reſt of their taxes: That it would pleaſe his Majeſty to cauſe the *Government* of the Church of *Ireland*, to be brought to the ſame form, manner, and faſhion, that is uſed in the Church of *Ingland*, that is, for the Archdeacon to Viſit for *two years*, and the Biſhop to viſit every *third year*, and then the Archdeacons Viſitation to *ceaſe* for that year the Biſhop viſits, and the Archbiſhop to viſit *once* in his time, and both the Archdeacons and the Biſhops Viſitations to *ceaſe* when the Archbiſhop ſhall viſit.

And *thus* the Clergy and the Church-Officers ſhall have but *one* Viſitation, *quot annis*, in every one year; which I think is *very ſufficient* for the rectifying of *all abuſes*, and for the far greater *eaſe* both of the Clergy and Layty: and which, I believe, none ſhould be againſt the ſame, unleſs it be *ſuch*, as are *too miſerably* covetous; for a *ſmall matter* unto themſelves, to bring a *heavy grievance* to very many; which for my part, the Lord knoweth, that I never liked it; and I ſuppoſe, it ſhould be for the *honour* and praiſe of the *Chief Governours* and Fathers of the Church, as we are ſtiled, to deal with our *Clergy* as with our *Children*, to eaſe them what we can, and not to make them *faſt* for our *feaſting*.

And I find great reaſon, that we ſhould in all things here in *Ireland* conform our ſelves to the Church of *Ingland*; for as

Polyd.

Polydor Virgil write h, that Pope *Adrian*, and after him *Alexander*, moved S. *Chriſtian* the famous Biſhop of *Liſmore*, their Legate, to call a Synod at *Caſhel*, wherein they defined eight Articles, whereof the laſt was, That foraſmuch as God hath Univerſally delivered the Iriſh into the government of the Engliſh, they ſhould in all Points, Rights, and Ceremonies accord with the Church of *Ingland*: and *Gelaſius*, Primate of *Ardmagh*, in the preſence of King *Hen.* 2. gave his conſent to thoſe Articles. *Polyd. Virg.* l. 13. Hiſt. Angl. *Campians* hiſt. of *Ireland*, l. 2. c. 1.

And therefore I wonder what hath altered or hindered this our conformity with the Church of *Ingland*, unleſs it be pride, covetouſneſs, or ambition, *& aviditas dominandi*; which are weeds fitter to be rooted out of Churchmens hearts than to be cheriſhed in the Primates of Gods Church, and which I verily believe are now far enough from the thoughts of our moſt grave and moſt religious Archbiſhops, who, as I hope, will moſt eaſily yield to this conformity, that neither the Biſhops be ſo abridged in their Juriſdictions, nor their Clergy ſo much oppreſſed in their Viſitations, as they have been.

Yet here I would not have my Reader to imagine that I ſpeak for the eaſe or remittance of the Procurations, Taxes, or other Impoſitions, of them that hold the Abbies, Priories, and Impropriate Rectories, which they have for nothing, and as it appears to me, contrary to all divine right; and therefore ſhould pay the ſame continually every year to them that do the Service of God: but I ſpeak it only for the eaſe and benefit of the poor incumbent Rectors and Vicars that labour and take pains for the good of Gods people, and for the ſaving of their ſouls that hold their means from them.

And, if this may not be done, to reduce the Government of the Church of *Ireland* to the ſame form, and after the ſame manner as the Church of *Ingland* is governed, yet that the Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſhould take ſpecial care to ſee that their Surrogates, Chancellours, and Deputies ſhould not any waies to enrich their Friends, Officers, and Servants, and to feaſt themſelves, oppreſs the poor Clergy, and others the poor Servants and Officers of the Church of Chriſt. I doubt not,

but the Biſhops and the Archbiſhops are all juſt, and merciful, and tender-hearted towards all their inferiour Clergy; and can no waies be juſtly blamed for the faults of their ſubordinate Officers or Deputies, which they are ignorant of; And I do profeſs without flattery, and in the word of a Chriſtian, that my Lords Grace of *Dublin*, in all that he did, or ſaid, was ſo noble, juſt, and gracious towards thoſe honeſt Clergy men, whom his Archdeacon ſo ſeverely trounced, that the leaſt ſhadow of the leaſt blame cannot be laid upon him. And I believe Archdeacon *Bulkley* would never have done what he did, but to ſatisfie the mind and deſire of a moſt unworthy perſon, and malicious ſlanderer and falſe accuſer of his Brethren, which can be neither true wiſdom, nor honeſt pollicy, to pleaſe men, and to offend Almighty God.

And now to conclude our ſad condition, when, after all my many years ſufferings, and had ſpent above four hundred pounds to repair the Quire and Chancel of S. *Kenny*, and about ſix hundred pounds in Law againſt Sir *George Ayſkue* for the right of the Church, and did perceive the ſucceſs like to be fruitleſs, I once thought to preſent this Petition to his Majeſty.

To

To the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The humble Petition of Gruffith, *Lord Biſhop of* Oſſory.

THat wheras your Petitioner hath ſeen how highly your Majeſty hath been abuſed, and how ſlowly and ſcantly righted by one Jury, and how much both your Majeſty and your Petitioner have been wronged by another Jury, and how mightily he is obſtructed to gain your Majeſties gracious Grant, and the right of the Church, where your Petitioner is but the Sollicitor, and aymeth at no benefit, not ſo much as one penny for himſelf.

Your Petitioner, that deſireth nothing, but that Juſtice (which eſtabliſheth the Thrones of Kings) may be done to God, to your Majeſty, and to himſelf, he humbly prayeth that the whole matter betwixt him and Sir George Ayskue *may be heard at the Council Table, or tried by an honeſt Jury here in* Ingland.

And your Petitioner ſhall pray, *&c.*

But, conſidering my years, full 78, and mine infirmities, and eſpecially how heavy the Seas are alwaies to me, and perceiving the impoſſibilities of prevailing *contra ſtimulum calcitrare*, when ſuch greatneſs doth ſo viſibly oppoſe me: I conceived, that, till God ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe of things, *Sat mihi poſſe pati*, and pray to God that he would ariſe and maintain his own cauſe: *Et det mihi velle mori*: and let them that detain the Right of the Church, and them that maintain and uphold them in it, remain under the prayer of *Moſes*, and the Propheſie of *David*, and the judgment of God betwixt me and them. Deut. 33. 8, 9, 10, 11. Pſal 34. 10, 11, 12, &c.

Tamque

Jamque opus exegi; and with the two-edged ſword of truth I ſmote at the impieties and corruptions both of the Clergy and Layty, of Church and Commonwealth, and of the great men and rich men without fear. *In me convertite ferrum*; and I doubt not but I ſhall attract unto my ſelf the malevolency, detraction, and perſecution from many men; but I have alwaies armed my ſelf with the reſolution to endeavour to do my duty, and diſcharge a good conſcience; and as Queen *Heſter* ſaid, ſo ſay I; if I periſh, I periſh, having publiſhed my own funeral Sermon in the Sermons I made for others, and commiting my ſelf, as I have done ever:

Jehovæ Liberatori.

In Impios Sacrilegos.

Heu mala progenies, fatis ſervata nefandis,
Genſque inimica deo: dominans voraxque ſacrarum
Quid fueras quid ſisque vide: tua prima propago
Sancta fuit, ſobolemque petet lues atra ſecundam,
Cum leo terribilis virgineis editus oris
Flammiferam ex orco pellagique plangentibus undis
Educens aciem, magnos urbeſque viroſque
Sternet, & antiquis ſolem lunamque movebit
Sedibus: ille etiam patrio jure infima ſummo
Reddet, & oppreſſos in cœlum mittet inermes.

A Prayer of the Author.

O Sweet Jesus Christ, as thou art God in Heaven, and hast a care of thy Church here on Earth, I beseech thee, suffer not thy Servants, that stand for thee, to be cast down and trampled under feet, and those that have fought against their King, to bring thine anointed Vicegerent to be murdered, to carry away the Inheritance of thy Church, and the Lands that were dedicated for thy Service, to be enjoyed for the Reward of that transcendent wickedness; lest thy Servants should be too much dejected and disheartened to stand for thine honour, and thine Enemies encouraged to proceed on in the like malicious wickedness: but rather let them feel the power of *Moses* Prayer for *Levi*: and *Davids* Prophesie against them that will rob thee and thy Servants of their Houses and Possessions: and be thou a just Judge betwixt us and them. *Amen.*

FINIS.

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